



President Ronald Reagan smiles as he is applauded by Vice President George Bush, top left, and House Speaker Thomas P. O'Neill Jr. after his State of the Union address.

## Reagan Challenges Congress

Concessions Seem More Rhetorical Than Substantive

By Hedrick Smith  
New York Times Service

WASHINGTON — President Ronald Reagan, in his second State of the Union address, challenged the Democratic leadership and even some of his Republican allies in Congress.

In an obvious effort to reassert his leadership on the economy and to gain lost political momentum, Mr. Reagan listed a range of initiatives capped by a call for "a federal spending freeze," an idea borrowed and adapted from Senator Ernest F. Hollings, a South Carolina Democrat.

But the concessions Mr. Reagan made to the changed political mood in Congress and the country in the face of the growing recession seemed more rhetorical than substantive.

Top administration officials have disclosed that the Reagan formula would translate into a significant increase in military spending, accompanied by real cuts in practically every major nonmilitary domestic program, while the president firmly holds the line on the tax cuts that he pushed through Congress in 1981.

Even before Mr. Reagan gave his address, Thomas P. O'Neill Jr. of Massachusetts, the House speaker, and such Republicans as Howard H. Baker Jr. of Tennessee, the Senate majority leader, signaled that Congress would not accept the approach. Mr. Reagan acknowledged the political difficulties ahead, admitting that it was "easier to de-

scribe" his program "than it will be to enact."

Mr. Baker had foreshadowed other political troubles for Mr. Reagan by opposing another of his initiatives Tuesday night — a package of contingency taxes for 1986-88, designed to persuade the financial markets that huge federal deficits can be brought down from about \$200 billion to \$100 billion in 1988.

Even that entails a bitter concession for Mr. Reagan, who had campaigned in 1980 on a pledge to balance the budget in 1983. Nonetheless, he chose to stick with the basic economic strategy he has pursued since taking office, rather than make a major midterm correction.

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According to a senior White House official, the Reagan budget for 1984, on which Tuesday night's speech was based, would provide for real growth of 9 percent in military spending and a real cutback of 3 percent in the nonmilitary portion of the budget.

Some Republicans sympathetic to the president have been fearful that such an approach is politically so unrealistic that Mr. Reagan runs the risk of having his budget strategy rejected almost out of hand.

Leading applause for Mr. O'Neill and Mr. Baker on the bipartisan agreement on revisions in the Social Security system — which provides retirement benefits and disability payments — Mr. Reagan sought to cheer his nationwide television audience with the theme that "America is on the march."

But he also acknowledged that he was sensitive to "the bleak emptiness of unemployment," although he offered no major job-producing programs.

Mr. Reagan reached to repair political bridges to blacks and other minority groups with promises to enforce fair housing laws and to extend the Civil Rights Commission, and action to remedy economic discrimination against women.

But his address, unlike his last State of the Union Message and an informal address to Congress in the first year of his term, was less an inspirational call to Congress and the American public than a recitation of new measures and a grim portrait of a "troubled" economy that would require both sacrifice and patience from the nation. His tone was a somber contrast to the confident forcefulness of his past two annual reports.

"For too many of our fellow citizens — farmers, steel and auto workers, lumbermen, black teenagers and working mothers — this is a painful period," he conceded. "We must do everything in our power to bring their ordeal to an end."

But Mr. Reagan shied away from proposing any major change in his basic economic program. Rather, he offered a variety of relatively modest initiatives in several fields and sought to project his compassion for those Americans who have borne the brunt of the prolonged recession.

The projected budget deficits, the president warned, are the single

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## Reagan Asks U.S. Spending 'Freeze'

By Steven R. Weisman  
New York Times Service

WASHINGTON — President Ronald Reagan, declaring that "America is on the march," urged the new Congress on Tuesday night to support a broad "freeze" in the growth of domestic spending programs that he said was necessary to assure a strong economic recovery.

In his second State of the Union Message, Mr. Reagan also appealed for a "bipartisan spirit" in approaching the nation's economic problems, particularly in reducing federal deficits that he characterized as posing "a clear and present danger to the basic health of our republic."

"To assure a sustained recovery, we must continue getting runaway spending under control to bring those deficits down," he said. "If we do not, the recovery will be too short, unemployment will remain too high, and we will leave an unconscionable burden of national debt for our children."

In a major departure for his administration, Mr. Reagan included a call for a "standby" tax increase of up to \$30 billion a year for 1986-88 if the deficit is not cut from its current level of nearly 7 percent of the gross national product to less than 2.5 percent in those years.

The tax on business and individual income and on energy consumption was incorporated into Mr. Reagan's budget projection of bringing the federal deficit down to a little more than \$100 billion in 1988. Administration officials said that without Mr. Reagan's tax and spending program the deficit would grow to \$300 billion in 1988.

Mr. Reagan's 43-minute speech mixed appeals for hope and cooperation with a long list of specific initiatives on jobs, high-technology training and fighting discrimination.

The warmest ovation came when Democrats one-upped Mr. Reagan by rising in unison and applauding when he said, "We who are in gov-

### On Page 2:

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■ Democrats offered their view of the State of the Union in a television production that emphasized alternatives rather than the kinds of attacks that are the traditional opposition-party fare.

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thought you were reading the paper. He seemed to be acknowledging that his speech had not been stirring the audience.

He provided details of his fiscal program for this year, details that were certain to meet with strong opposition in Congress. Many of the details have been disclosed in recent weeks and the White House elaborated upon some of the proposals in a "fact sheet" issued Tuesday evening.

Among the proposals were:

- A "freeze" in the growth of federal spending for domestic programs. In a briefing, senior administration aides said this would be a combination of cutbacks and freezes of one year or six months in civilian and military pay, retirement programs and many other programs that are adjusted each year for inflation. The entire "freeze" would reduce government spending by \$43 billion.
- Specific steps to control the cost of food stamps, welfare, the

Medicaid health assistance plan for the poor and other individual benefit programs that are paid on the basis of automatic formulas. Included in this would be a program to freeze reimbursements in the health area and also to tax health insurance premiums for private health-care insurance programs.

• An adjustment in Mr. Reagan's five-year, \$1.6-trillion military buildup by trimming \$55 billion, or about 3 percent, in the period.

• Legislation to provide tax breaks for low- and middle-income families who save for their children's college education. Under his proposal, interest and dividends on newly created "education savings accounts" would be tax-exempt.

• Tuition tax credits to parents who send their children to private elementary and secondary schools.

• An extension of unemployment insurance benefits for six

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## President Adopts A Moderate Tone On Foreign Policy

By Don Oberdorfer  
Washington Post Service

WASHINGTON — President Ronald Reagan ignored the hard-hitting foreign policy themes of his first two years in his State of the Union address and spoke in bipartisan, mainstream terms that could have been used by any of his predecessors in the postwar era.

Although one of his senior White House advisers dismissed the foreign policy and defense portion of the speech as "nothing new" and reflecting "no changes," both the tone and substance of Mr. Reagan's pronouncements were startlingly different from those of last year's State of the Union address and many other policy statements of his first two years in office.

Gone were "the Soviet regime," "the Soviet empire," "the shadow of Soviet power" and other such anti-Soviet phrases of the past. Gone was his 1982 State of the Union pledge, in the aftermath of martial law in Poland, that "America will not conduct business as usual with the forces of oppression."

Nowhere to be found in this new world of peace abiding were the "radical forces" which threaten our "freedom," or the Cubans and Libyans "who would export terrorism and subversion in the Caribbean and elsewhere."

Instead, Mr. Reagan sketched a world whose chief problems are economic, requiring greater U.S. contributions to the International Monetary Fund, and a world of peacekeeping U.S. diplomats seeking "constructive negotiation with potential adversaries" around the globe to the applause of a bipartisan cheering section at home.

Regarding the Soviet Union, Mr. Reagan emphasized that "we are prepared for a positive change in Soviet-American relations," and expressed his willingness "to carefully explore serious Soviet proposals" on arms control in order to prevent "a wasteful arms race."

He defended U.S. bargaining positions in the Geneva disarmament talks on medium-range and strategic nuclear weapons, and said, "We insist on an equal balance of force."

In substance, he continued to back a military buildup as a leading task of his administration. But

the rhetorical justification shifted from last January's negotiating "from a position of strength" to Tuesday's maintaining "adequate deterrence." There was no mention of his previous claim that the Soviet Union had achieved military superiority.

The president called on the new Soviet leadership to show "by deeds, as well as words," a sincere commitment to the family of nations. He added a general statement that "responsible members of the world community do not threaten or invade their neighbors, and they restrain their allies from aggression." He did not say exactly whom or what he had in mind.

It was a speech of continuity with long-established foreign policies of previous administrations, with the issue in Central America no longer one of drawing the line against communism, but of "a partnership for peace, prosperity and democracy," and the program of U.S. foreign aid "a critical investment in the future of the human race."

Neither the antecedents nor the operational significance of this remarkable change were addressed Tuesday night by White House briefers, but some elements of the answers were clear enough.

Since last January in Washington, Alexander M. Haig Jr., a retired general, has been replaced by George P. Shultz, an economist, at the helm of U.S. diplomacy.

In the Soviet Union, Leonid I. Brezhnev was replaced by Yuri V. Andropov. Although the U.S. administration does not yet see substantive changes flowing from the new Soviet leadership, there is no doubt that Moscow's new activism is a force to be reckoned with in the world.

The main international battleground at the moment is Western Europe, a fact that Mr. Reagan alluded to Tuesday night in saying that "allied steadfastness remains a key to achieving arms reductions."

It is unclear to what extent Tuesday night's speech presages a substantial shift in Mr. Reagan's main international policies in the remaining two years of his term. But for reasons of "realism" and "prudence," two key words Tuesday night, the president said about foreign policy was drastically different from his earlier statements.



FOREIGN DIPLOMACY — Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher of West Germany meets with the U.S. secretary of state, George P. Shultz, in Washington. After talks Wednesday with President Ronald Reagan, Mr. Genscher said the two countries agreed on the need for concrete results in the Geneva arms talks. Page 2.

## Women Get Equal Voice in Family Under Law Approved in Greece

By Marvin Howe  
New York Times Service

ATHENS — The Greek parliament has voted unanimously for a new Family Law that gives women an equal voice on all matters of family life.

The law represents a significant step for Greek women toward social equality, but they still have quite a way to go before they achieve the rights of most women in the West.

Before the law's passage Tuesday, the Greek man was legally the head of the family and had the final say in all domains. A married woman had to get her husband's permission to establish a business or to take their children abroad or choose a school for them.

Justice Minister Georgios Mangakis expressed satisfaction Tuesday

that the bill had won unanimous approval, but said "this is only the start."

"We have won the battle to get the bill passed," he said, "but now we need to put it into practice with concrete measures."

In an interview on the eve of the parliamentary debate, Mr. Mangakis said, "Henceforth, under the new law, husband and wife must decide together all matters relating to their common family life."

He said the law's other main provision is that for the first time in Greece, divorce is possible based on mutual consent, and if there is no agreement on the grounds of incompatibility after four years' separation.

Mr. Mangakis listed other points under the new law:

- Man and wife keep their own

names for legal questions and can choose whichever family name they wish.

• A single mother is protected and automatically is named guardian of her children.

• Children born out of wedlock have equal rights with those from a marriage.

• In case of separation of spouses, the disfavored partner is given at least one-third of the wealth generated by the couple unless it can be proven that he or she made no contribution.

An amendment abolishes the antiquated institution of dowry, which has become a system of tax evasion. Under a law passed by the former military dictatorship, dowries were taxed by only half as much as gifts or inheritance. In the future, the transfer of property can be made to son or daughter, with or without marriage, and will be taxed at the normal rate if it is over five million drachmas (\$60,000).

The parliamentary debate on the law lasted four sessions. Despite objections from the conservative opposition regarding divorce and from the Communists regarding separation of property, in the end all the parties voted in favor of the law.

"It would have been like voting against womanhood," a Socialist member said.

The Socialist government of Prime Minister Andreas Papandreu is the first Greek government to present a concrete program for women's rights, according to Chrysanthi Laiou-Antoniou, the prime minister's adviser for equality issues and one of the team of 15 that drafted the law.

But Mrs. Laiou-Antoniou said Greece still needs new laws on labor and family planning, and beyond that is the sensitive abortion issue.

The justice minister has come under strong attack from the conservative wing of the Greek Orthodox Church over the family law. The bishop of Florina, Monsignor Augustinos Kantiotis, condemned the legislation as "a disaster for the Greek family" and called for Mr. Mangakis's exoneration.

However, Archbishop Seraphim of Athens, the primate of Greece, said the legislation was "honest" and accused conservatives of hypocrisy in defending the previous legal situation.

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## Ex-Nazi Is Arrested In Bolivia for Fraud

Compiled by Our Staff From Dispatches

LA PAZ — Klaus Barbie, a former Nazi officer who is accused of having ordered the deaths of thousands of Jews and French resistance fighters, was arrested Tuesday in connection with fraud, the Bolivian government said.

Mr. Barbie, who was granted Bolivian citizenship in 1957 under the name Klaus Altmann, was known during the war as "the butcher of Lyons," the city where he was the Gestapo chief. He is said to have sent thousands of Jews to their deaths in concentration camps.

He was sentenced to death in absentia in France for crimes including the death by torture of a French resistance leader, Jean Moulin, and the killings of more than 40 children.

Mr. Barbie, 69, was arrested Tuesday after the Bolivian comptroller charged him with fraud against the state-owned Bolivian Mining Corp. He put up no resistance and was taken to Bolivia's national prison.

Mr. Barbie is accused of signing a contract for delivery of materials to the company and accepting a payment, believed to have been about \$10,000, but not satisfying

the terms of the contract or returning the money.

The arrest followed a recent ruling by the Bolivian attorney general's office that a West German request to extradite Mr. Barbie, made in May, was proper.

Foreign Minister Mario Velarde said Tuesday that Mr. Barbie could face extradition proceedings, but he added that Mr. Barbie's arrest was not linked to the extradition requests.

Pressed by reporters on the Foreign Ministry's plans, he said, "We must process his extradition."

"We had nothing to do with the arrest of Altmann," Mr. Velarde added. "It was an operation carried out by the Interior Ministry. We are aware of the West German Embassy's extradition demand."

Mr. Barbie's lawyer, Constantino Carrion, said he would appeal Wednesday for his client's release.

The West German request was related to the murder of Jean Moulin, France requested Mr. Barbie's extradition for the murder of Mr. Moulin in 1974 but was turned down.

Mr. Barbie has lived in Bolivia for 31 years and had good relations with a series of rightist military re-



Klaus Barbie

gimes. But when President Hernán Siles Zuazo took office Oct. 10, his government indicated it would honor the extradition request. Mr. Siles Zuazo has not yet signed an official declaration on the matter.

Mr. Barbie, who still uses the name Altmann, has admitted he was a Nazi commander but denied he was responsible for the deaths.

In Bonn, a Foreign Ministry spokesman said Wednesday that the extradition request stood. West German authorities sent a message in October to underscore the desire for Mr. Barbie's extradition, and Bolivian authorities responded that it was still under consideration.

## Saudi Arabia Reasserts OPEC Role Shock Tactics on Pricing Proposals Cause Dissent

By John Tagliabue  
New York Times Service

GENEVA — In trying to win a production-sharing agreement from his colleagues in OPEC, Saudi Arabia's oil minister, Ahmed Zaki Yamani, resorted to shock tactics this week in what seemed to be a risky attempt to reassert his country's role as OPEC's pacesetter.

From conversations with delegates and from comments by Sheikh Yamani at a news conference, his approach at the meeting of the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries may be summarized in this way:

The 13 nations must recognize that oil prices have to come down, at least a bit, in an orderly way. If they do not, Saudi Arabia and its allies will lower prices anyway and increase their production to win back the customers they have lost to price discounts within OPEC.

But if market discounting is halted, realistic production programs can be drawn up for all members, stability will return to the market and oil revenues will flow equitably.

The main support for Saudi Arabia's policy came from Kuwait,

whose oil minister, Ali Khalifa al-Sabah, accused African members of undercutting OPEC's official \$34-a-barrel price by \$1.50 to \$2.

Sheikh Sabah said at a news conference that Libya, Algeria and Nigeria should abandon their discounts. "If they cannot, or if

and thus firm up prices. A tentative agreement apparently was reached the first day, but it unraveled Monday in the dispute over a parallel pricing policy.

Officials from Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, the United Arab Emirates and Qatar have recently expressed concern over the rapid deterioration of the oil market, which has been battered by recession, conservation and an unusually mild winter in the Northern Hemisphere.

OPEC tried in December to attack the issue, but it failed then, for the third time, to agree on how to divide a shrinking market. The failures have meant that countries such as Libya, Algeria, Nigeria and Iran, which need revenues to pay for development — and, in Iran's case, a war — have continued to shave prices to hang on to customers.

At the same time, Saudi Arabia and its allies chose to defend prices by cutting production. Saudi Arabia's production has fallen by a third in six months.

The path taken by the Arabian Peninsula nations was relatively painless for them. They have small populations and huge monetary reserves.

they think this is excessive, we are amenable to lowering prices" by that amount, he said.

Sheikh Yamani, despite the support of Kuwait, the United Arab Emirates and Qatar, did not win his point, at least not for now. But both the Saudi delegate and his Venezuelan counterpart, Humberto Calderín Berti, indicated that they expected another OPEC meeting soon could resolve the issue.

"February will be an interesting month," Sheikh Yamani said.

Saudi Arabia's presentation in Geneva drew bitter comments from, most notably, the Iranian delegate, Mohammed Gharazi, who publicly accused Sheikh Yamani of subterfuge.

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■ Nicaragua's Sandinistas are fighting to save their export crops from rebel attack. Page 3.

■ The U.S. trade deficit widened to a record \$42.7 billion in 1982. Page 7.

But these desert nations have resorted increasingly to using natural gas, a byproduct of oil, to generate electricity and desalinate sea water.

Because of that, the need for gas effectively puts a floor under oil production, a problem that has been especially acute in Kuwait. As oil output has fallen, the availability of gas has sunk dangerously low, Sheikh Yamani said.

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## Turk Denies Meeting With Agca

### Businessman Is Wanted in Italy in Pope's Shooting

By Henry Kamm  
New York Times Service

SOFIA — A Turk wanted by Italian magistrates on suspicion of complicity in the shooting of Pope John Paul II said here that he had never met the man who shot the pontiff in 1981.

Bekir Celenk said in an interview, however, that he had been in Bulgaria at the same time that Mehmet Ali Agca, the man convicted of shooting the pope, was reportedly there. Unconfirmed reports in Italian newspapers have said that Mr. Celenk offered Mr. Agca \$1.25 million in Deutsche marks on behalf of the Bulgarian secret service to shoot the pontiff.

The Bulgarian government has announced that it has detained Mr. Celenk because of the Italian charges.

Diplomats in Sofia believe that Bulgaria has no intention of allowing Mr. Celenk to leave the country should he be released. They suspect that he may for many years have collaborated with Sofia in dealings that, even if they do not include a conspiracy to murder the pope, may constitute illegal trade.

In addition to the warrant issued in Rome in the continuing investigation into the shooting of the

pope, Mr. Celenk's arrest is being sought by another Italian judge on suspicion of a role in arms and narcotics trafficking and by Turkey on charges of arms smuggling, illegal foreign-currency dealings and fiscal irregularities.

Moreover, narcotics agents in many countries, including the United States, have listed Mr. Celenk for more than a decade as a major suspect in heroin and morphine trafficking. He is believed to "launder" the proceeds of heroin sales in West Germany, a major market, through his legitimate businesses.

Mr. Celenk spoke in Turkish to an interpreter, who translated into Bulgarian for a second translator, who rendered that into English.

He said he had lived in Turkey from his birth in 1934 until 1966. A Turkish official said that from adolescence Mr. Celenk had frequently been in trouble with the law and that he was a womanizer. He was sent to Western Europe by his father "to get him out of trouble."

By his own account, he settled in Munich, where he founded an import-export business that dealt in cars and electrical appliances for Turkey and the Middle East. In 1970 he moved to Biel, a center of

the Swiss watch industry, where he worked as a watchmaker and watch exporter, he said.

In 1975 or 1976, he said, he bought a share in a small shipping company in Turkey. He phased out of other interests by 1980, he said, and settled in London to run his shipping concern, Oscar Maritime. He said that the company now owned three ships and that he owned 70 percent of the company as well as interests in other ships.

In the view of U.S. and Turkish officials, Mr. Celenk, starting soon after his arrival in Western Europe, used his companies in narcotics trafficking and arms smuggling. According to an American official, Swiss authorities intercepted conversations between Mr. Celenk and known morphine dealers in Turkey in the early 1970s and his name appeared in the address book of a large trafficker arrested in West Germany.

Mr. Celenk said he returned to West Germany last May looking for a new business. He opened an import-export house, Trakia, in Munich and traveled widely throughout Europe on business. He said he was in Bulgaria in July 1980, at the time he is reported to have recruited Mr. Agca, but he



Bekir Celenk at a news conference in Sofia in December.

said he was there only to try to buy a ship.

He said he had met no one who fit Mr. Agca's description, then or at any other time.

He conceded that he had once met Musar Cedar Celebi, who is also a suspect in the investigation into the possible plot against the pope. Mr. Celebi was extradited

earlier this month from West Germany to Italy.

Mr. Celenk said the meeting with Mr. Celebi took place in 1980 in Frankfurt and lasted an hour. "An old Turkish friend invited me, and Celebi was a friend of his," he said. He said he had forgotten about Mr. Celebi until he read about his arrest.

## U.S. Says Begin Visit Isn't Now 'Opportune'

WASHINGTON — The State Department said Wednesday that Israel and the United States have agreed that a U.S. visit by Prime Minister Menachem Begin was "not opportune" as long as serious problems involving Lebanon remain unresolved.

A State Department spokesman, John Hughes, was commenting on a Washington Post report from Jerusalem that said agreement on a date for Mr. Begin to go to the United States was being withheld as a form of pressure on Israel to agree to withdraw its troops from Lebanon.

Mr. Hughes said Mr. Begin was "always welcome," but added, "As no date for a meeting has been set, there is presumably a meeting of the minds that it's not opportune" for President Ronald Reagan and Mr. Begin to meet so long as "Lebanon dominates the discussion."

Mr. Hughes said "if Lebanon were still a problem, the two would be diverted from discussing other matters" such as the wider peace process.

A U.S. official in Jerusalem was quoted in The Post on Tuesday as saying Mr. Reagan had sent Mr. Begin a letter this month saying he did not want a meeting to be dominated by details on Israel's presence in Lebanon.

Mr. Reagan "wants not just progress, but an agreement on withdrawal," the official was quoted as saying. "The president doesn't want to spend time hashing out minor details."

[In Jerusalem, Mr. Begin told the American-Israeli Public Affairs

Committee, a pro-Israel lobbying group in Washington, that the United States was criticizing Israel unjustly for the slow pace of the Lebanon talks.

[The Associated Press said Israel radio quoted the prime minister as saying Wednesday that Israel had already given up its demand for a peace treaty with Lebanon and for holding talks in Jerusalem. But he said Israel would not back down on its demand for arrangements with Lebanon based on its security needs.]

Larry M. Speakes, a deputy White House spokesman, said Wednesday that "we are trying to work out a mutually convenient date" for Mr. Begin to visit Washington.

Secretary of State George P. Shultz, interviewed on television, declined direct comment on the report. Mr. Shultz said he had heard from Israel that Mr. Begin would like to concentrate on discussion of West Bank issues and the basic peace process of Camp David. "We agree," Mr. Shultz said.

Mr. Begin went to the United States in November for a meeting with Mr. Reagan, but the prime minister's wife died and he returned to Israel. Another invitation was extended to Mr. Begin soon afterward.

The Post said the issue of Mr. Begin's visit was first raised in a letter from Mr. Reagan delivered by the president's special envoy, Philip C. Habib. The president's letter was acknowledged by Israeli officials at the time, and Mr. Begin's aides described it as "friendly."

## Bonn Aide Sees Unity In Alliance

Genscher Says Reagan Promises Cooperation

WASHINGTON — Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher of West Germany said after meeting Wednesday with President Ronald Reagan that Mr. Reagan "emphasized the United States' act in full agreement with its ally in arms control talks with the Soviet Union."

Emerging from the meeting day before U.S.-Soviet arms control talks are to resume in Geneva, Mr. Genscher said there was "agreement" between the United States and West Germany that efforts should be undertaken to the West to arrive at concrete results in the Geneva negotiation on medium-range nuclear missiles.

Mr. Genscher said Mr. Reagan had "underlined and emphasized the view that in these negotiations the American government will be in full agreement with its European allies."

Mr. Genscher said Vice President George Bush's trip to East Germany Sunday, was evidence of those intentions.

At the end of the meeting between Mr. Reagan and Genscher, reporters asked Reagan about a statement by H. Nitze, a U.S. negotiator, the United States "is certainly locked into the zero option," zero option is the U.S. proposal under which neither the Soviet Union nor the U.S. would star medium-range missiles in Europe.

The president, who was photographed in the Oval Office with Mr. Genscher, laughed and said, "No questions at the press conference."

In a meeting Tuesday, Genscher told Secretary of State George P. Shultz that he continued to support the zero-option proposal, according to U.S. officials who attended the meeting.

There has been concern in Washington that the government Bonn, facing an election March 6, might abandon its support of U.S. stance in the face of growing opposition from voters.

Mr. Genscher briefed Mr. Shultz on the recent visit to Bonn of Soviet foreign minister, Andrei Gromyko.

## 2 Bulgarian Officials Protest Innocence in Plot on Pope

By Henry Kamm  
New York Times Service

SOFIA — With unsurprising unanimity and indignation, two Bulgarian officials wanted for questioning by an Italian magistrate protested their innocence of any involvement in a plot to assassinate Pope John Paul II.

The two officials, Todor S. Aivasov, 39, and Major Chelcho N. Vasilev, 40, who until recently had served in the Bulgarian Embassy in Rome, were interviewed separately here by arrangement with the government.

Adhering to what clearly were his instructions, Major Vasilev insisted on reading a prepared denial of all accusations before accepting questions. "I deeply condemn the terrorism of Agca," he intoned, in reference to Mehmet Ali Agca, who was convicted of shooting the pope in May 1981. "I have never seen him and never met him."

Mr. Aivasov folded and unfolded his prepared denial throughout the interview but did not refer to its text until the end of an hour-long conversation to enter a similar denial and condemnation of terrorism.

Major Vasilev left Rome in August, before the arrest of Sergei I. Antonov, representative of the Bulgarian national airline, on Nov. 25 on suspicion of complicity in the assassination attempt and before his and Mr. Aivasov's names appeared in the Italian press as suspects sought by Judge Ilario Martella.

Mr. Aivasov left Nov. 5, on what he called a routine visit to the Foreign Ministry in Sofia to discuss the budget of the embassy in Rome. He said that after his departure the Italian authorities had inquired into the possibility of lifting his judicial immunity and Bulgaria had reassigned him to duties at the ministry. He said he was in charge

of the finances of several embassies in Europe.

"My first impulse was to return to Italy, immunity or no, to reply," he said, his voice rising. "It seemed even funnier at first, a mistake. But I know the reality in Italy and I know what kind of guarantees I could expect there."

Major Vasilev said he had been reassigned to an armor command that kept him partly in the field and partly in the capital. He returned at the end of his normal assignment, he said, emphasizing that he had stayed longer than expected.

The two scorned charges attributed to Mr. Agca in the Italian press that they had accompanied him for rehearsals on the two days preceding the attempt and drove him to St. Peter's Square, in a rented car, on the day of the crime, stopping at Mr. Aivasov's apartment to pick up pistols and grenades for the Bulgarians.

Mr. Aivasov said the apartment house in which he lived, a property of the embassy, was under constant surveillance by Italian secret agents and he would have been an uncommonly stupid spy if he had driven the assassin to the scene himself and gone to his house to pick up weapons on the way.

The officials said they had alibis for the three days in question but refused to disclose them.

"I remember what I did on May 11, 12 and 13, but I wouldn't be so naive as to tell it to the press," said the major. "It would give Agca's pilots a chance to correct their accusations."

The officer asserted that the Turkish terrorist was being promoted in his accusations by the Italian secret services. The purpose, he said, was either to divert attention from scandals that had implicated such agencies or a campaign against Bulgaria and other communist countries.

But neither official echoed a charge often made in the Bulgarian press that the U.S. Central Intelligence Agency was behind the accusations.

Responding to Italian press reports that Mr. Agca had proved his familiarity with the three Bulgarians who are implicated by describing one or more of their apartments and citing their unlisted telephone numbers, Mr. Aivasov said that he had had no telephone. Major Vasilev said the three apartments in which he successively lived had telephone listed in their owners' names.

"If Agca mentioned my private number, it proves the secret service gave it to him," the major said. He refused to give his address.

The two Bulgarians said they had met Bekir Celenk, also wanted by Judge Martella for complicity, only once, at a news conference arranged by Bulgaria last month to deny the charges against its citizens.

## France Aids 'New Poor'

PARIS — The government, faced with a growing number of destitute, homeless and hungry people in Paris and other large cities, announced Wednesday a series of measures aimed at fighting a new breed of poverty.

According to French aid groups, the profile of people being assisted has changed to include a new group of poor, created through such setbacks as the loss of a job, illness or the breakup of a family.

On Monday, eight charity organizations met with President Francois Mitterrand to aid the people becoming known here as "the new poor."

On Wednesday, the government said it would create emergency aid centers. It also announced the creation of relief centers open 24 hours a day in 15 major cities and of aid outlets for single mothers.

Reuters

The Post said the issue of Mr. Begin's visit was first raised in a letter from Mr. Reagan delivered by the president's special envoy, Philip C. Habib. The president's letter was acknowledged by Israeli officials at the time, and Mr. Begin's aides described it as "friendly."

## Democrats Propose Alternative Program

By Martin Schram  
Washington Post Service

WASHINGTON — Democrats offered their view of the State of the Union in a slick, made-for-television production that was heavy on alternative proposals and relatively lean on the sort of attacks that are the traditional opposition-party fare.

"We can criticize the Republicans," said Senator Joseph R. Biden Jr. of Delaware. "We think frankly, though, it's time we put up or shut up."

For half an hour on Tuesday night, over the three major commercial networks, cable and public television, the Democrats presented a series of proposals. Some were new, and many were carryover ideas from last year.

Among the proposals an all-star cast of Democrats offered:

- A progressive tax-reform proposal, introduced by Senator Bill Bradley of New Jersey and Representative Richard A. Gephardt of Missouri, that they said would simplify tax laws, eliminate many deductions and lower tax rates.
- A bill that would allow no program to be enacted until revenues to pay for it have been identified.
- A proposal by Robert C. Byrd of West Virginia, the Senate minority leader, and James C. Wright Jr. of Texas, the House majority leader, that would direct the Federal Reserve Board to act so that interest rates are lowered automatically in relation to inflation.
- A new commitment that at least 3 percent of the gross national product be devoted to research and development.
- Creation of a government and business council to help small farmers find new markets for their goods.
- Creation of a National Investment Corp. to find and provide the capital funds for revitalization and modernization of basic industries.
- An American Defense Education Act to improve teacher training and to emphasize mathematics, science, engineering and computer education.
- A proposed goal to have the United States export more energy than it imports by the year 2000.
- The repair of roads, rails and other elements of the nation's commercial transportation network.



Nancy Reagan, right, is applauded before the president's State of the Union address by her son and daughter-in-law, Ron and Doria Reagan, front, and in back, a Secret Service agent; Elizabeth Hanford Dole, nominated to be secretary of transportation; and Margaret M. Heckler, nominated to be secretary of health and human services.

## Tass Finds No Signs Of New Reagan Policy

By Dusko Doder  
Washington Post Service

MOSCOW — The Soviet news agency Tass dismissed President Ronald Reagan's stated readiness to seek "a positive change" in relations with Moscow and asserted Wednesday that his "specific plans" offered no hopes for changes in U.S. policy.

In a preliminary assessment of the president's State of the Union address, Tass said that "his speech showed that his administration has not drawn any lessons from the bitter experiences of the past two years and is bent on stubbornly pursuing the bankrupt course for an all-around buildup of military spending and simultaneous reductions in social programs."

The dispatch ignored Mr. Reagan's generally conciliatory tone as compared to his earlier pronouncements and instead placed emphasis on his critical remarks. It accused him of distorting Soviet policies and resorting to "malicious

lies" about the alleged use of chemical weapons by the Soviet Union.

The dispatch reflected a prevalent view in Moscow's public pronouncements that Mr. Reagan should not be expected to change his hard-line foreign policy at this stage and that his conciliatory tone was an attempt to ease fears in Western Europe about a possible escalation of the East-West confrontation.

Western diplomats, however, pointed out that the preliminary reaction to the president's speech also seemed to be directed at Western Europe and that its objective was to call into question the sincerity of Mr. Reagan's tone.

Tass criticized Mr. Reagan's remarks about arms control, saying that "he made no accompanying constructive proposals which would be aimed at solving this vital problem of the present day." It said that he repeated his "pseudo-zero option" proposal, which it said "demands virtually unilateral disarmament from the Soviet Union."

## Saudis Try to Reassert Leading Role in OPEC

(Continued from Page 1)

increase in oil output, threatened to eclipse Saudi Arabia as the largest and most influential OPEC member. Before the revolution in Iran, daily output was 6 million barrels.

Preliminary talks in Bahrain about 10 days ago focused on worldwide oil prices. According to sources familiar with the progress of the meetings, Sheikh Yamani carefully avoided the word "differentials," which include premiums that OPEC countries, including Libya, Algeria and Nigeria, add to oil prices to reflect higher quality and nearness to industrial markets.

But for Saudi Arabia, an increase in differentials is the key to production problems. Saudi Arabia cannot accept a production limit without an increase in differentials to make Saudi Arabia's oil more competitive, Sheikh Yamani said.

So, on Sunday, as OPEC's ministers seemed on the verge of resolving the production dispute, the problem most had come to discuss, Sheikh Yamani and his allies threw the meeting into disarray by demanding a discussion of differentials before they would accept a production program.

Some ministers, including Mr. Gharazi of Iran, accused Sheikh Yamani of inventing the differentials issue, which the Iranian said had not been mentioned beforehand, to sabotage the meeting.

But, Sheikh Yamani told the delegates, time was running out: Britain planned to lower the price of its North Sea oil by \$2 to \$3 "in a few days."

To avoid a downward price spiral that would destroy the oil market, he said, OPEC's dissidents would have to agree to lower oil prices and adjust differentials in a manner favorable to the Arabian Peninsula nations.

If Britain's oil price dropped, he argued, the OPEC dissidents would be hit hardest, since they compete most directly with North Sea crude.

Sheikh Yamani's prediction about North Sea oil prices gained strength Monday when officials of the British National Oil Corp. acknowledged that their major customers had requested a review of prices at the end of January, instead of March, as scheduled.

Oil prices on the spot, or non-contract, markets also fell sharply. And, as Arab delegates were quick

## Gulf Ministers Hint Oil Prices May Be Cut Soon

ABU DHABI — Two Gulf oil ministers hinted Wednesday that the region's exporters might soon cut their prices in light of the fall in the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries to agree earlier this week on prices and production quotas.

Ali Khalifa al-Sabah of Kuwait told reporters: "We will abide by OPEC prices if other states stop giving discounts on their oil prices."

Mana Said al-Oteiba of the United Arab Emirates said his country faced huge financial problems because of falling oil revenue and had to increase its production.

Mr. Oteiba said Gulf exporters would consult on coordinating their policies. They are no longer ready to bear the burden of defending OPEC's prices, he said.

Meanwhile, oil traders in Rotterdam said that North Sea oil prices stabilized Wednesday morning at lower levels on the spot, or non-contract, market after sharp falls in the last two days.

## U.S. Freeze On Budget

(Continued from Page 1)

months after the program expires March 31, Mr. Reagan called for tax breaks to employers to hire the long-term unemployed, and for funds benefiting workers thrown out of jobs by declining industries. He also called for approval of "enterprise zones" in which tax breaks are given to encourage investment in depressed urban areas.

A program of "standby" tax increases to take effect in the fiscal years 1986-88. An administration official said the tax would be in the form of a business and individual income tax surcharge, and also an energy tax, yielding \$40 billion to \$50 billion a year. The taxes would be imposed only if the deficit failed to fall below 2.5 percent of the gross national product and only if Congress achieved the spending cuts sought by Mr. Reagan.

At a briefing at the White House, senior administration officials said, in aggregate, Mr. Reagan's budget would increase about 5 percent for 1984 over 1983. The increase was regarded as the equivalent of a "freeze" by these officials because it keeps the growth of government spending at the rate of inflation.

## Reporter Expelled by Singapore

SINGAPORE (Reuters) — Singapore has refused to renew the employment permit of Patrick Smith, the Far Eastern Economic Review correspondent, and has ordered him to leave at the end of next month, officials reported Wednesday.

The sources gave no reasons for the government action against Smith, 33, a U.S. citizen who has worked here 15 months for the Hong Kong-based news magazine. Mr. Smith is the first foreign journalist to be refused permission to work in Singapore in more than 10 years. He was out of Singapore on Wednesday and could not be reached for comment.

The correspondent was believed to have angered Singapore's Internal Security Department last year when he wrote that the state's Internal Security Act was being invoked frequently against political adversaries. Prime Minister Lee Kuan Yew's Peoples Action Party.

## Walesa Back on Shipyard Payroll

WARSAW (AP) — Lech Walesa, leader of Poland's outlawed Solidarity trade union movement, was told Wednesday that he is back on payroll of the Lenin Shipyard in Gdansk but that he may not yet return to his job there as an electrician, a spokesman for Mr. Walesa said.

Mr. Walesa was turned away from the shipyard on Jan. 14 by management, which said he lacked the proper documents.

Before he can return to the shipyard, the birthplace of Solidarity, must obtain government certification that his affairs are in order, that he is working nowhere else, according to the shipyard management. Mr. Walesa, who was released from an 11-month martial law internment on November, has protested what he called "special tactics" used to keep him away from the shipyard.

## Poles Flee to West in Small Plane

BERLIN (Combined Dispatches) — Three men flew from Poland Wednesday in a two-seat plane, flying over East Germany and landing in the U.S. air base at West Berlin's Tempelhof Airport, a U.S. A spokesman said.

The three were taken into custody by U.S. military police for questioning. The army spokesman said the plane had been rented from a club at an airfield in Prybunalski, a town west of Warsaw.

The Poles were handed over to West Berlin police, who said that of the men had asked to remain in the West but that the third, an air mechanic, had been taken against his will and had asked to be returned to Poland. He was handed over to the Polish military mission here.

## Lithuanian Priest Faces Inquiry

MOSCOW (Combined Dispatches) — A criminal investigation has been opened against Alfonsas Svariskas, the dean of the Roman Catholic Church in Vilkulke, Lithuania, on charges of anti-state activity, said Wednesday. It did not say whether Father Svariskas was in arrest.

The announcement was made on the same day the Catholic archbishop of the neighboring republic of Latvia, Jolians Vaivods, arrived in Riga for ceremonies in which he will be elevated to cardinal. He will be the first prelate living in the Soviet Union to receive that distinction.

Tass said Father Svariskas, 57, had used his church as a cover for "illegal, anti-constitutional and anti-state activities" and incited believers to open revolt against the Soviet system.

## Mubarak Meets Cheysson in Paris

PARIS (UPI) — President Hosni Mubarak of Egypt, en route to Washington for a meeting Thursday with President Ronald Reagan, expressed concern Wednesday about stalled talks between Israel and Lebanon External Relations Minister Claude Cheysson said.

Mr. Mubarak met privately with Mr. Cheysson for 40 minutes during stopover at Orly Airport outside Paris. Both men expressed concern about the stalemate in the talks on a troop withdrawal from Lebanon, Cheysson said. He did not elaborate.

## For the Record

CAPE TOWN (UPI) — A senior officer in the South African Navy, his wife have been arrested on charges of spying for the Soviet Union, Prime Minister P. W. Botha said Wednesday. Mr. Botha identified the couple at a news conference as Commodore Dieter Gerhardt and wife, Ruth.

LONDON (UPI) — Two Jordanian students and an Iraqi mercenary pleaded not guilty Wednesday to charges that they tried to murder King Hussein of Jordan in 1977. The three were arrested in London in 1977 and are still in custody.

ISTANBUL (AP) — A martial law court on Wednesday sentenced an editor and a columnist of Cumhuriyet, an Istanbul newspaper, to terms of three months each. The court commuted the sentence of the editor, Oktay Gensin, to a fine of 9,000 liras (\$50). He and Oktay Akbal were convicted of trying to influence voters before a referendum in November on a new constitution.

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**4 Killed in Iceland Storm**

REYKJAVIK — Four persons died and 33 were left homeless when snowstorms and landslides struck the fishing village of Þreksfordur on Iceland's west coast, the authorities reported Tuesday.

**CORRECTION**

Because of an editing error, the International Herald Tribune incorrectly stated Hans-Jochen Vogel's position Wednesday. He is the Social Democratic candidate for chancellor in West Germany.

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# Mixed-Race Basters Differ on Independence for Namibia

By Allister Sparks  
Washington Post Staff

REHOBOTH, South-West Africa — The 25,000 people who live in this dry and sparsely populated region of central South-West Africa, on a high plateau between the Namib and Kalahari deserts, take a special pride in being called bastards.

People of mixed race are called coloreds in South Africa and in South-West Africa, also known as Namibia, the former German colony that South Africa has administered since World War II. But to call a mixed-race man from Rehoboth a colored is to insult him. He insists on being called a Baster. The Afrikaans word for bastard.

"It does not mean the same to us as it does to other people," said Hans Diergaard, a Baster leader. "We take a particular pride in the word. It emphasizes that we are different."

Coloreds, Mr. Diergaard said, resulted mostly from the early relationships between Afrikaners in South Africa and their Malayan and Javanese slaves.

"There are no slaves in our background," he said. "Our forefathers



Maans Beukes

were immigrants — Dutch, German and French settlers — "who had relationships with African women."

The Bastards have long enjoyed a kind of self-government in their 5,300-square-mile (13,780-square-kilometer) region, and a fierce pride in their status has led to a

## Many, Fearing Loss of Land to Blacks, See South Africa as Lesser Evil

switch in their role in Namibia's long struggle for independence.

Twenty years ago they were in the forefront of that struggle, among the first and most vigorous petitioners to the United Nations for international intervention to end South African control of Namibia.

Now they are among the most reluctant of all Namibian communities on the issue of independence, viewing South Africa as perhaps the lesser of two evils as they contemplate the prospect of a future under the South-West Africa People's Organization, an African nationalist movement.

"We worry that a SWAPO government would take over our territory and collectivize the land," said Mr. Diergaard. "That would be death for us because our land is our life, our history, our everything."

If the U.S.-led negotiations for Namibian independence were to result in elections for a winner-takes-all government, he said, the Bastards might boycott them.

"If you participate," Mr. Dier-

gaard said, "then you must accept the outcome, and we will never accept anything that takes our land away from us."

One of the early petitioners to the UN was Maans Beukes, who lives in a small bungalow in Rehoboth, a sprawling village stretched out along a rocky ridge.

The better houses are on top of the ridge, with a dramatic view across 50 miles (80 kilometers) of bush landscape to a range of jagged blue mountains on the horizon. The poorer houses are along the foot of the ridge.

Mr. Diergaard's house is on top with a Mercedes-Benz in the driveway. He also has a large farm in

the district. Mr. Beukes's bungalow is below. He runs a small shoe-making business in a back room, and teaches the craft to young Bastards.

Mr. Beukes asserts that Mr. Diergaard typifies a young generation that has lost sight of the meaning of the Bastards' history, which he says is a passionate commitment to independence without xenophobia.

He would vote for SWAPO, he says, and has a daughter who works for the insurgent group.

"We were the first people of color who managed to maintain a degree of independence," he said.

"There was a man who would never have gone soft," said Mr.

## Angola and U.S. Meet on Namibia

Compiled by Our Staff From Dispatches

LISBON — Angolan and U.S. officials met Wednesday in Luanda, Angola, to discuss independence for South-West Africa (Namibia) and "security in southern Africa," Angola's news agency said.

South Africa said Tuesday that

its own negotiations with Angola had reached a "sensitive level."

Diplomatic sources in South Africa and Portugal, Angola's former colonial ruler, said the talks centered on establishing a cease-fire and buffer zone along the Angolan side of Namibia's border.



nant tribe, the Hereros. That was 16 years before Bismarck colonized South-West Africa.

Mr. Beukes has an old map showing an original area of 17,000 square miles.

He says, however, that the German colonists and the South Africans took away thirds of it.

Now many are wondering SWAPO will take the rest.

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## SCIENCE

## Assessing Dioxin's Danger To Humans: Proof Is Elusive

By Wayne Biddle  
New York Times Service

NEW YORK — The deadly chemical dioxin, an unwanted byproduct of herbicides, pesticides and other industrial products, is raising increasing concern among government agencies, scientific researchers and people who may come in contact with it.

Communities from New York to Oregon have reported human health problems that they fear are linked to exposure to dioxin, although the links have not been proved scientifically.

Officials in Missouri say the number of sites believed contaminated by the chemical has risen to about 100, and Governor Christopher S. Bond has asked the state legislature to set up a special fund to help clean them up.

Research biologists and environmental scientists generally agree that in laboratory experiments on animals, dioxin has more harmful effects, and in smaller doses, than any chemical man has produced. Twenty-five millionths of a gram is known to be potent enough to kill a two-pound animal. There are 28 grams in an ounce.

But scientific proof of the effect on humans has been elusive. Conducting tests of toxic chemicals on people is ethically unacceptable, and establishing epidemiological proof by looking for correlations between exposure and effect on a given population is not always possible. In some cases, cancer may not develop for 20 years after exposure to a chemical carcinogen.

Among the other unknowns about dioxin is how much of it there is in the country and how much is being produced. Dioxin is nearly insoluble in water, but it clings tightly to soil particles and dissolves in organic solvents like alcohol or oil. It can enter the body by direct skin contact, ingestion or inhalation.

Dioxin was contained in oil sprayed almost a decade ago as a dust-control measure at stables and along roadways throughout eastern Missouri. In recent months, concern has arisen about dioxin's long-lasting effects on residents of Times Beach, Missouri, and other areas, and state and federal officials have been finding more and more sites at which the chemical was dumped.

Dioxin was among the hazardous chemicals found in 1978 at the Love Canal near a residential neighborhood of Niagara Falls, New York. It was also a chemical

contaminant of the defoliant Agent Orange, used in Vietnam. Humans who have been exposed to it near Love Canal, in Vietnam or in situations such as train wrecks or factory explosions have suffered a variety of severe health problems, including kidney and liver ailments, birth defects and cancer.

But whether it was the dioxin that caused the ailments among the humans exposed to it has not been determined to the satisfaction of medical researchers.

ONLY in recent months have scientists begun to make what they now regard as an important breakthrough. They believe a clearer understanding of the effect of dioxin on health is emerging.

Not until recent years were many physicians even trained to recognize symptoms of so-called chemical diseases. Moreover, scientists, understanding the frequent difficulty in proving cause and effect in medicine, emphasize that it took 40 years to establish a link between cigarette smoking and lung cancer.

In a series of experiments reported in Nature and other scientific journals, a member of the dioxin group of compounds, one called 2,3,7,8-tetrachlorodibenzo-p-dioxin, or TCDD, has been shown to be what is called a potent "tumor promoter" in rats and mice.

According to Dr. Alan Poland and others at the University of Wisconsin's McArdle Laboratory for Cancer Research, the model of tumor production derived from these experiments is relevant to humans because the excessive multiplication of cells in the skin of mice is strikingly similar to that evoked by TCDD in human skin.

Dr. Poland said TCDD did not appear to be a complete carcinogen by itself. But he said it enhanced morbid growth in cells already exposed to potential cancer-causing agents; that is, exposure to TCDD, in connection with other environmental factors, brings on the cancer.

"There is no question that dioxin plays a role in tumor formation in animals, and almost certainly has the same action on human cells," said Dr. Howard Eisen, a medical officer at the National Institutes of Health. "The basic mechanism is the same."

TCDD is the variety of dioxin found in Agent Orange, which is a mixture of 2,4-D and 2,4,5-T herbicides. TCDD is also the variety confirmed in Missouri soil by the Environmental Protection Agency. Members of the dioxin family,

known as polychlorinated dibenzodioxins, or PCDDs, are byproducts not only of herbicides and pesticides but also of dyes, pharmaceuticals, wood preservatives and other products known as chlorinated phenols.

In general, these synthetic compounds are formed by adding chlorine to hydrocarbon molecules that are derived from petroleum.

Two decades ago commercial 2,4,5-T often contained as much as 70,000 parts per billion of TCDD and sometimes more. But manufacturers say current techniques now reduce it to a level of less than 10 parts per billion. The industry maintains that it can assure safe products, especially since the material sprayed on fields is heavily diluted.

If the TCDD content of commercial 2,4,5-T is 100 parts per billion, for example, a single spraying might cause surface soil concentrations of 0.02 parts per trillion. Estimates of TCDD soil contamination from Agent Orange in Vietnam are about 0.08 parts per billion.

Spokesmen at the Dow Chemical Corp. said that by testing their output of the dichlorophenol herbicide 2,4-D nine times every 24 hours, they make sure dioxin contamination never exceeds 1 part per billion. Although 2,4-D is closely related to 2,4,5-T, it is not generally contaminated with TCDD. It does contain other less toxic dioxins, though there has been almost no research on the effects of these.

The possible risk posed by even that level of dioxin must be weighed, industry spokesmen say, against the enormous economic value of the products.

ASSESSING that risk is, of course, part of the problem. Researchers say the risk begins to appear in animals with exposure in the parts-per-billion billion range. The Centers for Disease Control have advised Missouri officials that materials containing more than one part per billion of TCDD should be removed from residential areas.

But that figure itself has caused some confusion. Dr. Renate D. Kimbrough of the federal disease agency expressed annoyance with news accounts that reported, incorrectly, that the agency considered dioxin concentrations below 1 part per billion in soil to be "safe." Although this is the detection limit being used in soil tests at residential areas in Missouri, she said, it represents a compromise between health concerns and cleanup practicalities. Dr. Kimbrough said ex-

## Estimated Risk of Chemical Pollutants

Percentage of increased risk of cancer, calculated on the basis of animal experiments and human epidemiologic studies, to a person weighing 150 pounds who, over a 70-year lifespan, breathes air containing one microgram of substance per cubic meter.

SUBSTANCE	USE	PERCENT RISK OF CANCER
Acrylonitrile	Manufacturing acrylic fibers	.031
Allyl chloride	Plastic pipes	.000099
Arsenic	Wood preservative	.34
Benzene	Gasoline, solvents	.00074
Beryllium	Brass, ceramics	27.0
Cadmium	Batteries	.2
Dimethylhydrosamine	Boiler fuel	.29
Dioxin	Herbicides, fungicides	100.0

Source: U.S. Environmental Protection Agency

The New York Times

posure to lower concentrations over extended periods could still present a health risk.

In one area of Missouri, the Environmental Protection Agency said, dioxin was found last fall in surface soil concentrations of 300 parts per billion. The federal agency calculates that exposure to this soil presents an added cancer risk, for children who ingest it regularly, of as much as 35 percent. That is, these children have a 35 percent greater chance of contracting cancer in their lifetime than those who do not ingest the soil. This is regarded as above the approximately 30 percent risk of cancer that all Americans face.

The special properties of chlorinated phenols, of which dioxins can be a byproduct, are what make them so useful to an industrial society. But those properties, such as heat resistance and electrical resistance, insolubility in water, and chemical durability, are also what make the phenols biologically threatening. Among other things, the substances may collect in living organisms at higher concentrations than in the surrounding ecosystem, a process known as bioaccumulation.

In virtually all types of tissue in every animal species tested, Dr. Poland of the University of Wisconsin's laboratory said, TCDD induces the production of enzymes that are the organism's attempt to metabolize, or render harmless, the chemical irritant. But the enzymes are now often thought of as a double-edged sword, because organisms that have a high capacity for producing them are more susceptible to tumors at the spot where a carcinogen is administered, while those with a low capacity show distinct cancers such as leukemia or lymphomas.

According to Dr. Nancy Kim of the New York State Department of

Health's toxic substances assessment unit TCDD fits into one of two major cancer theories. In the first, the hypothesis is that merely one foreign molecule attaching to DNA can set off the cancer process. Because TCDD does not bind appreciably to DNA, it does not match this scheme. But its ability to cause excessive cell multiplication, known as hyperplasia, does fit the second theory, that cancer is caused by repeated irritation of tissues.

Although scientists believe that current laboratory work showing the similarities in animal cancer mechanisms has taken the research a crucial step forward, such theoretical work is only half the puzzle-solving process. The other half is human epidemiology, a tedious, time-consuming matter hindered by all the real-world ambiguities that laboratory work can filter out.

Scientists at the National Institute of Occupational Safety and Health are studying an unusually high incidence of soft-tissue sarcomas among workers exposed to dioxin at two chemical companies in Michigan and West Virginia. In a letter to the medical journal Lancet for January 1981, the researchers reported that three of 105 workers who died suffered from the rare cancer. This was 2.9 percent of the deaths in the group; the general population would be expected to show only seven one-hundredths of 1 percent.

The study might provide the first international confirmation of a 1977 report from Sweden suggesting that forestry workers exposed to 2,4-D and 2,4,5-T have a roughly fivefold higher incidence of soft-tissue sarcomas. In addition, several studies have revealed an increased incidence of Hodgkin's disease in lumberjacks and woodworkers.

## TB Battle Is Far From Won

By Brenda C. Coleman

The Associated Press

CHICAGO — Most of the sanitariums were shut down years ago. The mobile X-ray units no longer roll through dilapidated neighborhoods, and school children no longer fidget in anticipation of skin tests.

But the disease — tuberculosis — hasn't disappeared.

"It is particularly problematic for us," says Dr. Gerald Burke, chairman of the department of medicine at Cook County Hospital. "We have to see either the poor who can't afford the medications or the prototypical skid row bum, who as soon as he leaves the hospital, stops taking the medications."

Cook County Hospital treated twice as many tuberculosis cases in 1982 than in 1981 — up to 600 from 300, according to Dr. Burke.

Health officials nationwide reported 27,373 new cases of tuberculosis in 1981 — a slight decrease from 1980. But authorities say the figure can be misleading because it fails to reflect a great number of victims who have had the disease for many months or years.

And it also fails to show the gains TB is making in some metropolitan areas. In Los Angeles and San Francisco, new cases rose 18 percent in 1981, and Miami had the highest TB rate in the nation — 87 cases per 100,000 people.

"I think there has been a return of interest in tuberculosis as a problem," says Dr. Kenneth E. Powell of the TB control division at the Centers for Disease Control in Atlanta. "Everybody had thought TB was simply going to disappear. It may disappear, but if it does, we're going to have to work at it."

New treatment methods have done more to promote the perception that tuberculosis has disappeared than to achieve a reduction in the number of cases, Dr. Powell says.

"In the old days, people were sent to sanitariums for months at a time, but now they are usually treated in a hospital for only a few weeks, and many don't have to enter a hospital at all," he said.

Patients don't spread the disease as long as they continue medication, he says.

WHEN TB is spread, it almost always goes by air. If a person who has the disease coughs, bacteria are dispersed in water droplets which evaporate, each leaving a "droplet nucleus" that can be inhaled by someone nearby.

If the nuclei reach the smallest air sacs of the lungs, they lodge there. The body builds a wall of cells and fibers around the invad-

ing bacteria to confine them, forming a small, hard lump called a "tubercle."

As the bacteria grow in the lung, they invade new cells and the area of lung tissue they occupy becomes larger. The tissue cells die, and the whole area becomes soft. Finally, the soft tissues liquefy and the liquid material is coughed up, leaving a small cavity in the lung.

Formerly incurable, the disease was once so widespread it was called the white plague. In 1918, according to the National Center for Health Statistics, 118,000 people died in the United States of TB. But medical advances in the 1940s led to three drugs — isoniazid, streptomycin and paraaminosalicylic acid — used alone or in combination to effect a cure.

"TB no longer has the destructive impact that it used to have. People aren't sent away from their homes. In many cases, a person never has to be put in the hospital at all," Dr. Powell says.

Yet tuberculosis killed 1,780 people in the United States in 1981. And at best, successful treatment requires 18 months.

From 1968 through 1978, the number of new TB cases in the United States declined an average of 5.6 percent annually. But from 1979 through 1981, the decline slowed to 1.4 percent.

"It looks like [during 1982] we may have resumed our previous rate of decline, but it's really too early to say," according to Dr. Powell.

A lot of the cases in 1979 and 1980 were attributable to the Indo-Chinese refugees," Dr. Powell said. "But in 1981, that no longer seemed to account for the failure of the rate to decline."

Higher incidences of the disease seem to move around, Dr. Powell says. In California, the incidence increased in 1979, 1980 and 1981. In Kansas and South Carolina, the incidence rose for both 1980 and 1981. Twenty-one states had a higher rate in 1981 than in the previous year.

Part of the problem, says Dr. Burke, is the resistance to medication some tuberculosis bacteria develop when treatment is discontinued after a short period of time.

"And it's not just resistance to one drug, it's to a number of drugs, and that requires long-term hospital stays," Dr. Burke says.

"A lot of people think it's a disease of the past and are surprised to learn that it's still around," says Dr. Laurence Farrer, director of the CDC's division of TB control. "It hasn't disappeared and it isn't going to disappear for many, many years. It's going to be a long, hard battle."

## A Super Microscope

By Walter Sullivan  
New York Times Service

NEW YORK — A University of Chicago scientist has designed an electron microscope to detect objects one-third the size of those now observable, which would make it possible to see the atomic structure of most solids for the first time.

The university will build the microscope using a grant of \$990,000 from the National Science Foundation and \$1 million of computing equipment pledged by the International Business Machines Corp.

Dr. Albert V. Crewe, a professor at the university who has been responsible for a number of major advances in electron microscopy, designed the instrument and will supervise its construction over the next three years. A distortion-correcting device that he proposed in 1981 is a key component.

He says he hopes the microscope will record details less than half an angstrom wide. One angstrom, a unit used to measure the length of light waves, is roughly four-billionths of an inch. Since atoms in many materials are spaced about one angstrom apart, Dr. Crewe be-

lieves the new device should be able to record atomic structure.

In announcing the project, the university pointed out that the most powerful microscopes today can directly detect objects no less than two angstroms wide and can record individual atoms only under special circumstances.

The device will combine features of both scanning and transmission electron microscopes and hence will be known as the Scanning Transmission Electron Microscope, or STEM. The first electron microscope were of the transmission type and functioned much like simple microscopes in which light shines through a thin specimen.

The scanning version is able to produce three-dimensional images by bombarding the specimen with electrons and then recording the secondary electrons released by the impinging beam.

Whereas glass lenses are used in optical microscopes, those that focus electrons must be magnetic. Such lenses, however, produce an intrinsic distortion, which Dr. Crewe hopes can be removed by his sextupole (six-pole) corrector.

## For Summer, Saint Laurent Pure and Simple

By Hebe Dorsey  
International Herald Tribune

PARIS — Yves Saint Laurent's show Wednesday had every woman in the room humming: "If I were a rich woman."

On the runway framed with opulent palm leaves and white orchids, the clothes were Saint Laurent at his best, and the wild applause was a tribute to the unrivaled king of Paris couture.

It was a good show both onstage and offstage, and the so-called seen crowd included Catherine Deneuve, wearing a brown leather Saint Laurent suit, as did some of the younger customers, such as Baronne Van Zuylen, Olympia de Rothschild, Florence Grinda and Betty Catron. Saint Laurent's mother was there, too, but as always in the second row, and wearing last season's red sequin suit.

True to himself, Saint Laurent did nothing dramatically different but kept honing his look. The result was as pure a collection as he has ever designed: controlled, disciplined, yet sexy and totally Parisian. Without missing a beat, he kept saying the same: "Less is better."

Although summer collections are often treated more lightly than winter ones, this one showed a remarkable amount of work. A great many of the clothes will fit right in with the lives of his rich customers, who travel all year and do not keep to the seasons. As Pauline Karpis, a London socialite who has houses in Paris, Athens, Cannes, London and New York, said: "I could wear any of those suits under a fur coat."

The evening numbers were all gray suits, in understated flannel stripes or Prince of Wales checks. But the treatment was slightly different, less hard-core and more gently feminine and softly fitted, with bosom, waist and hips all very much there. Serious as they were, these were not clothes to wear at ladies' luncheons.

Other flirtatious tricks included diamond ankle straps, diamond cuffs, diamond heart pendants, tufted skirts, white carnations at the back of bowler hats and soft floating chiffon scarves. Matching soft, chiffon blouses had deep plunging décolletés instead of high-closing bows.

The new Saint Laurent tonic comes in bright jersey — turquoise, green or cerise — trimmed with equally vivid tricolor braid. Every other designer in Paris has shown black and white, but it takes Saint



Saint Laurent's black-and-white satin dress with stole.

Laurent to really deliver the ultimate in the look and still score with exotic colors. Prints ranged from small field flowers — pop-

## U.S. Air Force Studies Causes of Stress to Airmen

United Press International

RAMSTEIN AIR BASE, West Germany — Long working hours, fatigue and "estrangement from family life caused stress to U.S. airmen that contributed to more than half of U.S. Air Force crashes in the first six months of 1981, the air force says.

A study of 148 air crew members and 82 wives based in Britain, West Germany and Spain, found that stress was a contributory factor in seven of the 10 air force crashes in Europe from January to June 1981, an air force spokesman said Tuesday.

The report said major causes of stress were fatigue, lengthy duty away from home and alert exercises that resulted in estrangement from families. Diminished self-employment of wives unable to find employment or to cope with language and cultural barriers is another main cause of stress that can endanger a pilot's life, the study found.

The spokesman at Ramstein, the European headquarters of the U.S. Air Force, said the air force had made advances in solving the problems by working out fairer working hours and introducing family coun-

many topped by his famous Spencer jacket that has been copied right and left. Saint Laurent's strongest statement was all those coatdresses, often double-breasted and closed with gold buttons, as well as short suits under three-quarter coats.

The newest addition to evening wear is beaded sweaters over black or white long, clinging crepe skirts. Snaky satin sheaths were a lesson in draping, with Saint Laurent banding opulent Marrocain crepe with peerless technique. Some of the best were black and white, draped at both shoulder and hip, but the black dress, with a bare back except for a string of diamonds around the waist, brought down the house. So did a frothy cascade of black tulle, which made the model look as if she were wrapped in cotton candy.

This was bonus day in Paris fashion with Givenchy also delivering a superb collection, which should go straight to his rich American customers' hearts. It was full of the kind of clothes that make private planes, Maxim's luncheons, summers in the Hamptons and winters in the Bahamas.

Givenchy nipped in the waist, cinched it with black patent leather belts and put short, puffed sleeves on practically everything, including a great many coats. His new leather coats and suits were printed with tennis stripes or giant houndstooth. Of all Paris designers, Givenchy understood summer best, and his clothes were like a trip to the sunshine. Besides turquoise, raspberry and a brilliant yellow, often shown with black, Givenchy showed strong Dufy and Matisse prints.

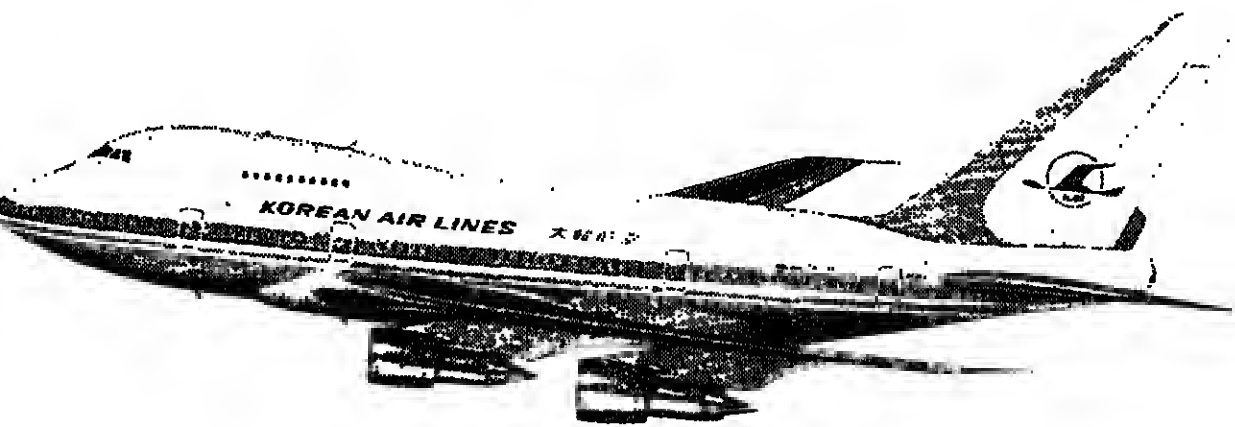
But, as in the case of Saint Laurent's collection, the evening is where it's at, and that's what culture is all about. In one of the most opulent evening wear collections in Paris, Givenchy showed quite a few sunnys, including demure and not so demure gowns — from flamenco ruffles with beaded borders to iridescent sequins à la Raquel Welch.

## Brazil's Leader to Travel

The Associated Press

BRASILIA — President João Baptista Figueiredo of Brazil will travel to Mexico and Japan this year, the presidential palace said Wednesday. Foreign Ministry sources said he would also travel to China and Africa this year.

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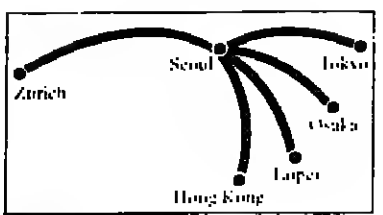
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# Herald Tribune

Published With The New York Times and The Washington Post

## A Reverse Oil Shock

The OPEC countries, for the fourth time in recent months, have failed to agree on the price of oil, and suddenly everyone seems alarmed that it may drop. Why, in heaven's name? Lower oil prices would not be an undiluted blessing. But if this third, reverse oil shock occurs it should be welcomed.

The first two shocks, in 1973 and 1979, sent the price soaring and caused economic havoc. Conditions have now changed profoundly. Conservation, recession and new oil sources like the North Sea and Mexico have glutted the market. And there is war in the Islamic nations. Saudi Arabia, struggling to retain its standing in the Middle East, has poured in huge sums to back Iraq against Iran.

All these conditions put intense pressure on OPEC's official \$34-a-barrel price, and the raises the strange new question: Would a price drop be good or bad? Anyone who drives a car knows it's good. A \$2-a-barrel price decline would lower gas prices in the United States by a nickel a gallon, wholly offsetting the gas tax increase coming in April. There would be other, far larger consumer benefits. Brazil, burdened by the world's largest foreign debt, would save on oil imports. So would other im-

porting countries, including the United States.

There would be some problems. The prospect of a price war sent the British pound to a new low and sent oil stocks plunging on Wall Street. Britain stands to lose North Sea oil revenue. Some of the oil giants would lose, too, depending on whether they make their money from crude or refining. Banks that have lent to oil companies and to oil countries would worry about diminished income. A \$2-a-barrel drop would cost Mexico alone \$1 billion a year. Sharp cuts would drive Nigeria to the wall, along with some other producing countries, it would have to be rescued.

The world economy is near crisis, new shocks will aggravate some problems. But the case for lower oil prices remains compelling, most of all because they would stimulate economic expansion. If the reduction is gradual, the adjustment need not be difficult. If price-slashing breaks out, the major nations will have to put together more rescue packages. Britain and Canada — even Kuwait and the Saudis — could be seriously hurt. But the world's overriding need is economic recovery. Lower oil prices would help.

— THE NEW YORK TIMES.

## Watching the Saudis

The quarrel over oil-pricing has raised much excited speculation about the future of OPEC. A more important question is the future of Saudi Arabia. Everyone knows that the prospects for political stability in the Gulf region are uncertain. The point is worth further consideration, for events around the Gulf will influence the price of oil far more powerfully than the survival or collapse of OPEC.

The antagonism between Iran and Saudi Arabia goes well beyond oil and money. The latter are only the weapons in a larger struggle. When the OPEC meeting collapsed Monday, the Iranian oil minister, Mohammad Gharazi, triumphantly exclaimed, "We have also succeeded in breaking the political power of Saudi Arabia, which stems from oil." He meant that the Saudis were no longer unilaterally setting OPEC policy, but the choice of words suggests further meanings as well.

Like everything in that part of the world, friction between the two countries goes back a long way. It was well established before the Iranian revolution, but the revolution carried it to a new pitch. Populist Moslem fundamentalism of the Khomeini variety sees its true and essential enemy in the immensely wealthy and cosmopolitan hierarchy across the Gulf, Iraq's attack on Iran, followed by more than two years of war between them, has added an-

other kind of tension, since the Saudis have been giving the Iraqis financial support. In terms of national power, the Saudis have more oil but the Iraqis have more people. Iran's population is about 40 million. The Saudis have always been extremely sensitive, not to say secretive, about their population figures; they claim 9 million people, but other estimates range as low as 5.5 million.

As for OPEC, it never pushed up oil prices, and the collapse of OPEC would not bring prices down. The price of oil shot up in the 1970s because the industrial economies had been growing so rapidly that they suddenly began pressing the limits of the world's oil supply. OPEC only followed the market upward. It has been less important as an attempted cartel than as a rallying point for all of the Third World's hopes for global redistribution of wealth on a grand scale. If the price of oil now begins to sag and OPEC falls apart, there is going to be a great vengeful hunt by the poor countries along the equator, and particularly in the Middle East, for villains.

All of that is a reminder that the two great upward surges of oil prices in the 1970s followed, respectively, a war and a revolution in the Middle East. There is no reason to assume that it can't happen again.

— THE WASHINGTON POST.

## Backward in Namibia

To justify its illegal occupation of Namibia, South Africa has long maintained that it was staying on to protect the cause of pluralism against leftist usurpers, and particularly to advance a genuine grass-roots party called the Democratic Turnhalle Alliance. That argument collapsed last week, however, when South Africa dissolved the alliance's grip on power in Namibia, treating Dirk Mudge, the alliance leader, as a disposable puppet.

The details that led to Pretoria's resumption of direct control are confusing but worth pursuing. South Africa is under orders from a virtually unanimous United Nations to relinquish the former German colony, which was assigned to it as a League of Nations mandate. But instead of preparing free elections that could lead to independence, the South Africans have stalled for a decade and pretended that they already permit home rule and encourage multiracial politics among Namibia's one million blacks and 70,000 whites.

And indeed, under South Africa's tutelage an elected National Assembly picked Mr.

Mudge, a white rancher, as its leader. But many whites found him too liberal while many blacks were unimpressed by his efforts to eradicate racism. With his term coming to an end he evidently wanted to prove he was nobody's stooge; as a gesture to Namibia's blacks, he led a move to abolish observance of South Africa's holidays, one of which celebrates military victories over blacks. But Pretoria's victory, the administrator-general, vetoed this plan and dissolved the Assembly, ditching Mr. Mudge in the process. Whatever the tensions that yielded this result, it is now plain that Namibia is no more autonomous than any other South African territory.

As long as that is so, no local leader can hope to outbid Marxist-led guerrillas for popular support. Yet the avowed purpose of Pretoria's foot-dragging on independence has been its desire to deny leftist control of Namibia. And the longer it retains control, the harder it becomes for moderate-minded Namibians to establish themselves as alternatives.

— THE NEW YORK TIMES.

## Other Opinion

### An Uncertain Oil Future

The renewed nervousness of the markets after the breakdown of the OPEC talks is the most natural thing in the world, for dealers are now groping their way forward in a thick fog of uncertainty. There is now a clear possibility of a major break in the oil price, which has negative implications for sterling and raises disturbing questions about the safety of energy-secured loans in such countries as Mexico, Nigeria, Venezuela and even Canada. Indeed, a fall in the price is now necessary to fulfill the Saudi hope that a weak market will frighten OPEC back into harmony.

— The Financial Times (London).

### Zero as a Yardstick

A mere reduction in the number of Moscow's intermediate-range missiles in return for complete renunciation by the West could not produce equilibrium, even if it were legitimate to introduce outside resources (namely those of Britain and France) into the calculation. Experience has shown that the Russians start negotiations with extreme demands in the hope of achieving maximum advantage. This makes it all the more important for the West's negotiators to retain a clear yardstick against which to measure progress. In this case, the proper yardstick is the zero option.

— Neue Zürcher Zeitung (Zurich).

## This OPEC News Looks Fine

By Hobart Rowen

WASHINGTON — Don't let the mournful cries of the banks and the oil companies fool you: The collapse of the OPEC oil cartel promises lower prices not only for OPEC oil but also for domestic U.S. oil and other energy sources. It is good news for America and for depressed economies all over the world.

Some banks and some producing countries that unwisely bet that oil prices would go up forever, will be hurt, as they should be for making bad business decisions. The oil companies that gleefully rubbed hands at each new OPEC increase in the 1970s will see shrunken profits.

But lower oil prices will be a tonic for rich and poor oil-using nations alike that have been driven into a depression by a greedy cartel.

It is ironic that many observers, painfully aware of the devastating effects of the two massive oil price "shocks" in the 1970s, now brood over the prospect of a sharp price decline. Walter Levy, the well-known New York oil analyst, is widely quoted as saying that if oil drops from the present \$34-a-barrel OPEC monopoly level to \$20, it would trigger a "disaster" for Mexico and other countries heavily in debt, because their oil revenue would slide.

The \$34 monopoly price has prevailed since October 1981 despite the enormous oversupply of oil. No one in the U.S. government ever criticized the "moderate" Saudis for their role in maintaining an artificial price structure that has raised veritable hell with the world's economy.

In the aftermath of OPEC's disarray and a bitter fight for market shares between the Saudis and Iran on one hand, and between the Saudis and African producers, it is not clear yet how sharp the oil price decline will be. But it is certain that the price is headed down, as was inevitable in the face of a glut. Compared to the \$34 "benchmark," the spot-market price fell on Jan. 24 to \$29.75 after the collapse of OPEC's effort to establish new production quotas and prices.

"Perhaps some bank loans to oil-producing countries like Mexico will go bad, or have to be

refinanced as the price falls," says Joseph Lerner, a Washington oil consultant. "On the other hand, most oil-importing borrowers like Brazil are also in financial difficulties, and their ability to pay back loans will improve. Bail out the bankers who school everyone in financial prudence? Poor policy. The oil glut 'signal' has been clanging for a long time, but anti-competitive producers managed to sustain prices."

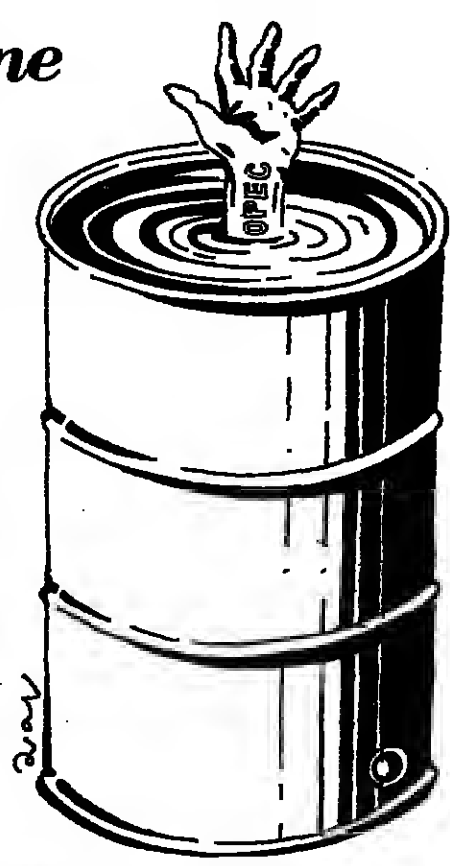
As to Mr. Levy's fear of disaster from a dramatic price break, Mr. Lerner recalls that OPEC's 1979 increase was \$12.66 a barrel, or nearly 95 percent. A reduction of \$14 to a \$20 level would be on the order of 41 percent. "Must prices go up like a rocket and decrease like a glider?" Mr. Lerner asks.

Oil analyst Lawrence Goldmintz of Washington cites estimates that OPEC's monopoly pricing has caused 25 to 30 percent of the unemployment in the industrial countries. And according to the IMF, oil price increases are a major cause of the buildup of Third World debt estimated at an oppressive \$500 billion.

So there is reason to cheer, rather than fear, lower oil prices. Economist Walter Heller says, "A sick U.S. economy would get just the tonic the doctor ordered: the equivalent of a \$30-billion excise-tax cut that would unleash consumer spending [and] boost business profits."

The significant thing to remember is that the oil glut is not merely the result of declining demand at a time of world recession. The primary reason for the glut is that OPEC's pricing policy forced the consuming world to learn three things — how to conserve on oil use, how to find new sources of oil outside OPEC, and how to find other fuels to substitute for oil.

The cartel set the stage for its own destruction by pricing oil out of the market, as Prof. Arlon R. Tussing of the University of Alaska wrote recently. Already demand for OPEC oil has slid from the peak of 31 million barrels a day in 1979 to 17 million barrels a day. If there weren't some OPEC members already discounting — that is,



cheating on the cartel price-fixing agreement — OPEC sales would be even less. Mr. Tussing sees "the most stable and easily sustainable price range" in the future as \$10 to \$18 a barrel.

Western leaders copped out in the 1970s when they let OPEC get away with outrageous price increases. They would make another enormous error if they were encouraged by banking, oil or other self-interest groups to do anything except let nature take its course. This is a moment to cherish and enjoy.

The Washington Post.

## Atlantic Alliance: The Fundamental Dilemma

By Dominique Moisi

PARIS — Is the life span of an international system necessarily limited? Metternich's system, so highly praised for its stability and longevity, lasted only 33 years until it was swept away by the revolutionary days of 1848. Bismarck's system lasted even less time, failing to survive long after the death of its creator.

Can a nuclear threat that dates from 1945 give life much longer to the security system set up in Europe after World War II?

To put it another way, can Europe live on behind the protection of an atomic shield in a frozen international environment, with its continued division as the price to pay?

The year 1983 will be decisive for the future of the Atlantic alliance. The Europeanists' quarrel has revealed the crumbling of the alliance, while maintaining it.

The stationing of U.S. medium-range missiles in some European NATO countries was intended to help avert uncoupling between Europe and the United States. One can wonder today whether the debates provoked by the 1979 NATO modernization decision have not par-

adoxically created instead a political and psychological uncoupling between European governments and their public opinion.

The consensus that underpinned the Atlantic alliance — acceptance of a strategic doctrine based on nuclear deterrence — no longer exists. This breakdown of consensus is being accompanied by reconsideration of the validity of the American nuclear shield, and by a more general reconsideration of America as a model, especially in West Germany.

The pernicious temptation among some Europeans to equate the two superpowers leads to a refusal to distinguish between Soviet military imperialism and the economic and cultural imperialism of the United States. Another European temptation is to be found in the rise of a "sanitized" national egoism in a time of international economic crisis, leading to openly protectionist measures.

Questioning of the alliance was inevitable. It has suffered since its inception from a structural imbalance linked to the absence of a strong Eu-

ropean pillar capable of counterbalancing American supremacy. That supremacy was alternately or simultaneously authoritarian and erratic. Today it is vacillating.

An unbalanced balance was nevertheless created. Its survival presupposed three conditions: American military supremacy over the Soviet Union, general economic growth and weak nationalisms. Today these conditions no longer exist.

For many Europeans, America's military guarantee appears to be as much a threat as a protection. The economic crisis is deep and durable. And nationalism is resurfacing on both sides of the Atlantic.

The French Third Republic, aware of its institutional weakness on the eve of World War II, had given up any ideas of trying to solve its inadequacies and contradictions. This comparison is too harsh for the Atlantic alliance. The solidarity of its members, based on common values, still exists, even if attenuated.

Above all, there is no satisfactory or realistic alternative to the present

system. Europe cannot live without U.S. protection, and America cannot "lose" Western Europe without a fundamental threat to its security.

It is not easy to transcend the split in Europe stemming from Yalta. As long as Western Europe cannot guarantee its own security, the Gaullist idea of a "Europe from the Atlantic to the Urals" remains utopian.

A European defense is more necessary than ever, but it encounters the same obstacles as 20 years ago.

France, sure of its choices, bolstered in its tranquil egoism by the evolution of the international system and the budgetary constraints on its weakened economy, is not about to question the sacrosanct dogmas of its defense policy, which are accepted by both right and left.

West Germany, whatever the extent of its differences with the United States, is neither willing nor able to exchange an American nuclear guarantee for a French one. And Britain is no more willing today than 10 years ago to envisage military nuclear cooperation with France.

Meanwhile, the idea of a decentralized and nonaligned Western Europe, starting with West Germany, remains unacceptable. It would lead to Soviet hegemony over the entire European continent and to de facto "Finlandization" of Western Europe.

Poland has shown that the Soviet empire is not ready to crumble and that the prospect of "Finlandization" of Eastern Europe, which can seem so attractive to Westerners, is not about to become reality.

In the long run the system on which Europe's security is founded, where two pillars are an American guarantee for Western Europe and Soviet control over Eastern Europe, is both politically untenable and morally unjustifiable. But the cure could be worse than the disease.

All attempts to rethink the system stumble on the German problem, to which the Atlantic alliance and the European Community were conceived as answers. Some would say they are attempts to sublimate it. But one does not play lightly with history, and it seems legitimate to wonder whether a profound change in German society is taking place, which will bring to the fore again the problem of the German nation.

The system in which we live is both untenable in the long run and irreplaceable in the present context. A reassessment of the conditions of the alliance can only begin with a recognition of this fundamental dilemma.

The writer is associate director of the Institut Français de Relations Internationales and editor of its journal, *Politique Étrangère*.

## Bush's Mission—Almost Impossible

By Philip Geyelin

WASHINGTON — The impression is that Vice President George Bush is being suddenly rushed into the European breach to do propaganda battle with the Soviets — to grapple for the hearts and minds of European peaceniks. And that is partly true.

But his European tour was actually in the active planning stage last year. The idea was that early 1983 might be a good time for a top administration figure to be rallying and reassuring the allies on the most urgent arms control issue: the decision by the North Atlantic Treaty Organization in 1979 to deploy medium-range nuclear forces in Western Europe by the end of this year, in the absence of an agreement with the Soviets controlling the number of such weapons on both sides of the line.

What has happened is that the original, stately grand tour has been electrified by recent developments: the U.S.-Soviet war of words over arms control, the dangling of compromises and hints of counter-compromises, and the big shake-up of the U.S. arms control apparatus. All this offers Mr. Bush a wealth of opportunities for easing European public anxieties, soothing out the sometimes conflicting thinking of allied governments, and reaffirming Ronald Reagan's dedication to arms control.

An equal opportunity exists, however, for the careless — or misinterpreted — phrase or gesture that could make things worse.

And so, from conversations with those involved in the preparations, one comes away with a sense that, not necessarily through any failings on his part, George Bush is entering up for Mission Almost Impossible.

The heart of the arms control problem right now is Europe's perception of Ronald Reagan's readiness to be reasonable. A substantial body of European opinion suspects that the U.S. president still hankers to run the Soviets into the ground economically, absorbing up the fatal flaws of communism in the process by more than matching them in military spending and deployments. According to his aides, Mr. Bush will present himself as the man who knows Mr. Reagan better than just about anybody, and thus the man best positioned to testify to his boss's will to bargain in good faith.

But Mr. Bush cannot illustrate the point while Ronald Reagan is holding fast to his famous "zero-zero" proposal. This would have the Soviets dismantle all their medium-range missiles as the price for an agreement by the Western allies not to deploy in Western Europe a new generation of Pershing-2 and cruise missiles capable of reaching the Soviet Union.

The new top man in the Kremlin, Yuri Andropov, has dangled a seductive compromise that would cut the

Soviet medium-range forces down to the level of the combined French and British independent nuclear forces. It is a non-starter, yet a show of seeming flexibility. Mr. Bush will have nothing comparable to show, other than a public suggestion of the obvious: that there may be some give in the U.S. position if the talks in Geneva show serious signs of movement.

"We are not going to get into negotiating or come up with some new offer," says former four-star Adm. Dan Murphy, Mr. Bush's chief of staff. Rather, Mr. Bush will be compelled to convey U.S. determination to proceed with deployment of the intermediate-range nuclear forces on schedule, in the absence of an agreement with the Soviets. Since some of them are supposed to be operational by December, this means serious installation work will have to begin this summer. Even to suggest slippage in the timetable would rob the United States of leverage in Geneva.

Yet in West Germany, where elections are due in March, a recent poll shows that 65 percent of the public wants to renounce on the 1979 two-track decision and delay deployment even if no progress has been made

with the Soviet Union. On the face of it, taking the firm line would seem to favor West German Chancellor Helmut Kohl, who is alone among his country's leaders in sticking by the Reagan "zero-zero" position. But in practice it may work the other way: Both the Social Democratic opposition and Mr. Kohl's supposed political ally, Franz-Josef Strauss, are pushing for compromise.

There are also hints of softness in Italy's position. And Britain's Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher has suggested that there might be some merit in looking at an agreement on "balanced" forces on both sides.

Mr. Bush is "going to be doing a lot of listening," says Adm. Murphy. He would like to bring back to the president and other policy-makers the best fix he can get on European attitudes. He intends to dwell in public on common aims and values.

Mr. Bush will promise consultation and exude camaraderie. In two major speeches (in Berlin and London) and no end of private talks he will weigh his every word.

If the Bush mission is almost impossible, it is nonetheless unavoidable. If nothing else, it will provide a necessary measure of the depth of the crisis in Western alliance affairs.

The Washington Post.

## So Reagan Changes His Tune

By James Reston

WASHINGTON — President Reagan is down in the dumps, but not down in the dumps. He reads a State of the Union message better than any president since Franklin Roosevelt, and like Roosevelt he pretends to be faithful to campaign oratory while modifying it if it doesn't work.

He even quoted Roosevelt to effect that "change is the order of the day," and it is clear from this address that Mr. Reagan is changing his tune if not his policies.

He has been accused of being "merely an actor." The right wing party condemns him for doing his conservative campaign philosophy too much, and the Democrats scold him for not changing it enough. But it may be that his actor's instinct is his hope for the last half of a political play. At least that was a melody of his address.

In the first act, in 1981, Mr. Reagan had a bit of a triumph. In the second act, in 1982, there was a moult on the stage. He was being hoed and even mocked abroad, and unemployed at home were beginning to toss chairs out of the balcony.

Very well, says Ronald Reagan with that bappy smile and duck the head, let's rewrite the script for the third act. His second State of the Union message was obviously different from his first: tough but less ideological, less hostile to his opponent, at home and abroad, more sensitive to the criticisms of the poor and the anxieties of the European allies.

It does not follow from this that because the Democrats may have been wrong on many of their domestic and foreign policies in the past, Mr. Reagan has been right. In no ways his experiments may have been a disaster, and what he seems to be doing now, by backing and filling and compromising in his State of the Union address, is to try to work some kind of compromise without admitting that he is doing so.

He is talking tough but acting canny, and rather skillfully. By appointing nonpartisan commissions to study the tangles of Social Security, the MX and other nuclear weapons systems that no one has been able to resolve, he has been seeking a consensus in the center, which in so ways alarms the Democrats while infuriating the extreme conservatives in his own party. This may, however, reassure the American people, who don't have much faith in either party and may sympathize with the president because of the battering he's getting from the press.

Even so, there is something Hollywood, too theatrical about the response to opposition at home and abroad. When he gets in trouble, he likes to deal with it one day by suppressing "leaks" out of the White House about his difficulties, and next by mounting a "public relations" campaign to convince the peo- ple at home and the anti-nuclear foreign abroad that he is really on their side.

He is accused of being lazy, lately he has been attending rallies, labor and blacks to prove it isn't. It is said that he is insensitive to anxieties of the Europeans, the blacks and the press, so he flies Chicago to a black students' rally, sends Vice President George Bush to Europe, puts Ambassador Philip Habib on the shuttle to the Middle East, and holds two press conferences two weeks to demonstrate that he is on top of his job.

But his instinct for compromise came out in this address. And he obviously switching. With his vagueness and easy cheerfulness, claiming an optimistic riot of cost-cutting beliefs, saying that if we stick together all will be well.

So obviously there is a paradox in this speech. The melody is admittedly conciliatory, but the policies he suggests will undoubtedly raise serious problems with the Democrats and even within his own party.

In the next two weeks Mr. Reagan will have to face the tangles of next two years and hope that, even he has lost his support on the night he will pick up more in the center.

For while in his first two years in office, all the time he could spend from his ideological prejudices he voted to the neglect of his duties, lately he has been working hard bringing things together, and this fairly clear in Tuesday's message.

The New York Times.

## LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

### FROM OUR JAN. 27 PAGES, 75 AND 50 YEARS AGO

#### 1908: Iranian Mob Wins Out

TEHRAN — A large mob surrounded the Governor's residence and demanded that a certain Reza, who was in prison there for murdering his brother, be handed over to it. On the Governor's refusal to give him up the mob stormed the residence, released all the prisoners and got hold of Reza, whom it riddled with shots. At Tabriz several clashes between political parties have taken place lately, many being killed and wounded. A telegram reached here stating that Prince Firman Firma, commanding the troops on the Turkish frontier, had retired to Mahabad. Ehtesham-ol-Saltaneh, President of the National Assembly, has resigned. The people insist upon the execution and punishment of the leaders of the recent troubles.

#### 1933: Billion-Dollar Relief

WASHINGTON — Having disposed of the Glass banking bill, the Senate turned toward a gigantic program for direct relief of the nation's destitute and unemployed, envisaging the appropriation of \$1 billion for disbursement to the states through a special relief board appointed by the President. The huge relief project, which is reported to have the approval of President-elect Roosevelt, and which is in line with his repeated recommendations, was agreed to by the Senate majority committee, which decided to link the \$500,000,000 Costigan-La Follette relief bill tabled at the last session with other relief programs, to provide direct grants to the states for relief work.

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INTEREST RATES

C. VAYENA  
Athens











### Wednesday's NYSE Closing Prices

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*Principal Paying Agent*

**DILLON, READ & CO. INC.**  
*Principal Paying Agent*







Tables include the nationwide prices up to the closing on Wall Street.

Tables include the nationwide prices up to the closing on Wall Street.

[illegible]

	Close	Prev.	Close	Prev.
Jan. 26	Singapore		Kajima	329
			Kansai Pwr.	915

[illegible]

	Open	High	Low	Settle	Chg.
<b>Jan. 26</b>					
<b>FRENCH FRANC</b>					
\$ per franc; 1 point equals 25,000f					
Mar.	14500	14520	14370	14370	-80

[illegible]

rices		Jan. 26	Paris Commodities		Jan. 26	
and volt	Wed	Year Ago	Figures in French francs per metric ton.			
			High	Low	Close	Ch'ge

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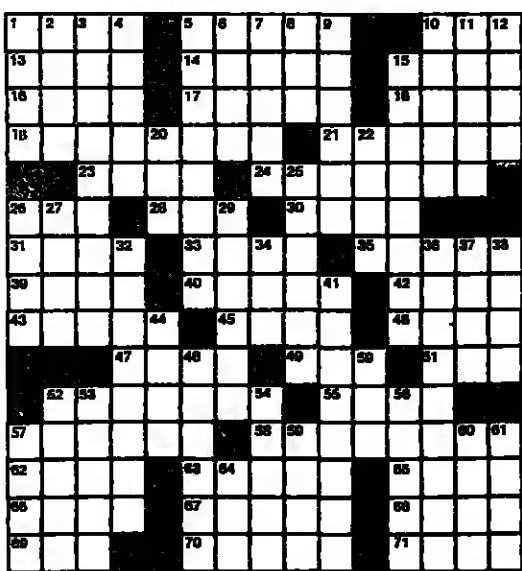
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# CROSSWORD



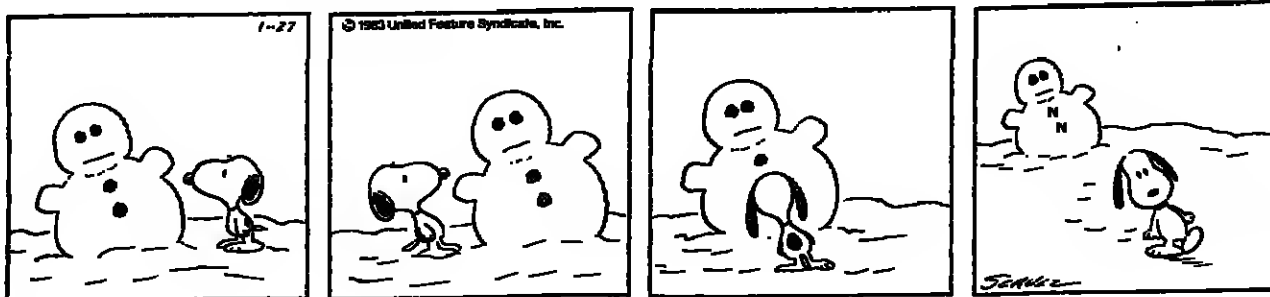
- ACROSS**
- 1 Dolomites
  - 2 Emulate
  - 3 Henderson
  - 4 Kind of dye
  - 5 Consecrated
  - 6 Vampire
  - 7 Scum
  - 8 Black
  - 9 Ludwig and
  - 10 Jannings
  - 11 Part for
  - 12 Jannings
  - 13 More like
  - 14 Ancient ruler
  - 15 of the universe
  - 16 School sub
  - 17 Cretaceous
  - 18 Phidias
  - 19 Cry of disgust
  - 20 Bud Abbott's
  - 21 Trilobite
  - 22 Neighbor of
  - 23 Nev.
  - 24 Dry
  - 25 Pickall
  - 26 Jostle
  - 27 Actress Louise
  - 28 Snipers
  - 29 Grasping
  - 30 Trilobite
  - 31 Score for Orr
  - 32 Once
  - 33 Verde
  - 34 Acton Park
  - 35 Rowlands
  - 36 Style
  - 37 Butt
- DOWN**
- 1 Port on the Ohio
  - 2 Shoshoneans
  - 3 Heart and
  - 4 Duke
  - 5 Conservative
  - 6 doctrine
  - 7 His name
  - 8 means "long
  - 9 tail"
  - 10 Tennis shot
  - 11 U.S. author
  - 12 1909-55
  - 13 Active one
  - 14 Birdie heater
  - 15 Druggist's
  - 16 place: Abbr.
  - 17 The electors
  - 18 Flushed
  - 19 Diminutive
  - 20 suffix
  - 21 Voiced
  - 22 Dutch town
  - 23 Slipped
  - 24 Sadat's
  - 25 predecessor
  - 26 To the
  - 27 Older brother
  - 28 of Moses
  - 29 Eyelid
  - 30 Puffs on a pipe
  - 31 Camping place
  - 32 Foot: Comb.
  - 33 form
  - 34 Of weight
  - 35 Garment part
  - 36 A's
  - 37 predecessor

# WEATHER

	HIGH	LOW	C	F		HIGH	LOW	C	F
ALGARVE	14	7	37	Fair	ALGERIA	15	8	43	Fair
AMSTERDAM	10	4	40	Overcast	ANAKARA	16	9	43	Fair
ATHENS	11	5	34	Fair	ATLANTA	10	4	40	Overcast
AUCKLAND	10	4	39	Fair	BANGKOK	10	4	39	Fair
BANGKOK	10	4	39	Fair	BEIJING	10	4	39	Fair
BEIJING	10	4	39	Fair	BELGRADE	10	4	39	Fair
BELGRADE	10	4	39	Fair	BIRMINGHAM	10	4	39	Fair
BIRMINGHAM	10	4	39	Fair	BOSTON	10	4	39	Fair
BOSTON	10	4	39	Fair	BRUSSELS	10	4	39	Fair
BRUSSELS	10	4	39	Fair	BUCAREST	10	4	39	Fair
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CAIRO	10	4	39	Fair	CALCUTTA	10	4	39	Fair
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GENEVA	10	4	39	Fair	HARARE	10	4	39	Fair
HARARE	10	4	39	Fair	HELSINKI	10	4	39	Fair
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HONG KONG	10	4	39	Fair	HOUANG	10	4	39	Fair
HOUANG	10	4	39	Fair	ISTANBUL	10	4	39	Fair
ISTANBUL	10	4	39	Fair	JERUSALEM	10	4	39	Fair
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LIMA	10	4	39	Fair	LISBON	10	4	39	Fair
LISBON	10	4	39	Fair					

Readings from the previous 24 hours.

# PEANUTS



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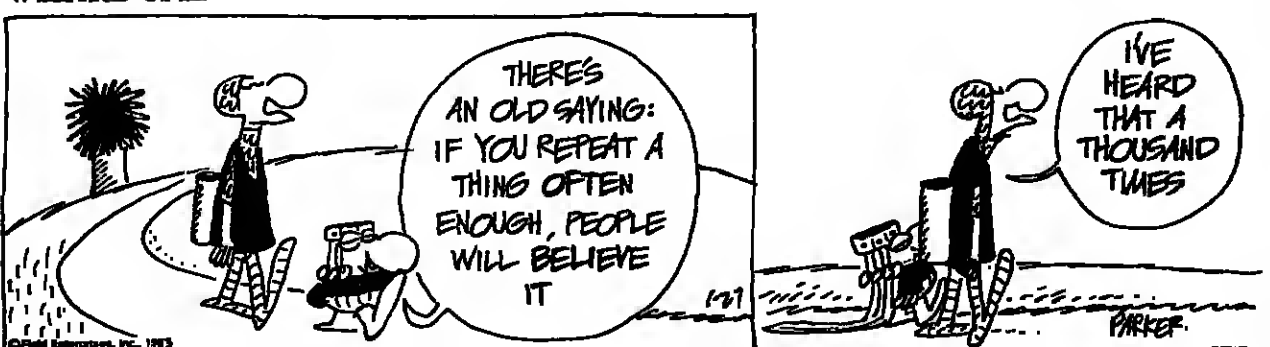
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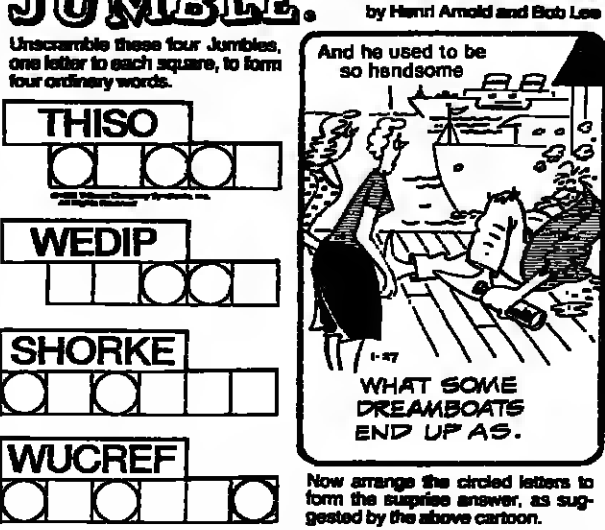
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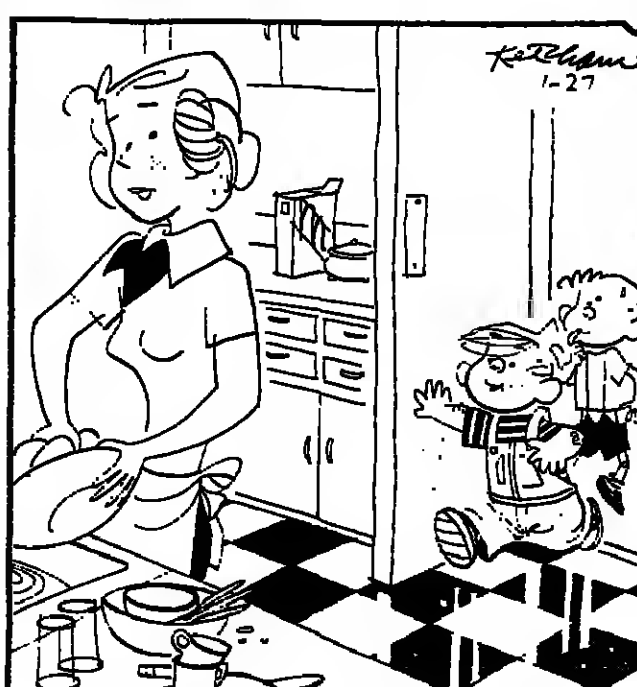


# JUMBLE



Answer here: \_\_\_\_\_  
Yesterday's Jumbles: DRONE HAREM TANDEM UNION  
Answer: That guy on the football team got hurt when this occurred — THE TEAM WAS ON HIM

# DENNIS THE MENACE



# BOOKS

## WAR IN THE FALKLANDS

The Full Story  
By The Sunday Times of London Insight Team. 294 pp. \$14.95.  
Harper & Row, 10 East 53d St., New York, N.Y. 10020.

## FIGHT FOR THE FALKLANDS!

By John Laffin. Paperback, 215 pp. \$5.95.  
St. Martin's Press, 175 Fifth Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10010.

## THE STRUGGLE FOR THE FALKLAND ISLANDS

A Study in Legal and Diplomatic History  
By Julius Goebel. \$35; paperback, 482 pp. \$10.95.  
Yale University Press, New Haven, Conn. 06520.

Reviewed by Leonard Downie Jr.

EVEN now that it is all over, it is hard to grasp the enormity of what happened, the editors of the Insight special reporting team of The Sunday Times of London note in the introduction to their impressively detailed and thoughtful instant history of the war between Britain and Argentina over the Falkland Islands. "In the last quarter of the 20th century, Great Britain went to war, sending a naval task force of 100 ships, 8,000 miles to the South Atlantic, to engage an enemy of the last outpost of a forgotten empire."

It was anachronistic and yet the first truly modern war. It intermingled stubborn Victorian defense of honor, World War I-vintage foot soldiering and "Star Wars" combat with space-age missiles. It became a laboratory for arms manufacturers; some didn't even wait for the war to end before advertising their successes as the death toll mounted from sinking ships and exploding aircraft.

Although there was relatively little else at stake for anyone besides the two combatants, the Falklands war attracted as much media attention as the Israeli invasion of Lebanon and more than the bloodier war between Iran and Iraq. Yet most of that coverage was sketchy at best. Live television reports were made impossible, correspondents accompanying the British forces were strictly censored, and much of the information from governments in both London and Buenos Aires was fragmentary or false.

Publishers seeking to cash in on satisfying any postwar appetite for more facts have been ruttin out books here and in Britain. Two of the first three in U.S. bookstores, however, fill little of the void.

Oce, "Struggle for the Falkland Islands," deceptively titled to sound more timely, is a Yale University Press reprint of a 1927 historical analysis of competing English, French, Spanish and Argentinian claims to the Falklands from their reoccupation by the British in 1833. The late Julius Goebel, who was a law professor at Yale and Columbia, concluded that Argentina had a much better claim than Britain to the Falklands, but this has now been mooted for everyone but diplomats and scholars by Britain's unconditional military victory last summer. And Goebel is contradicted in the book's introduction by a British authority on Spanish history, J.C.J. Metford, leaving the Yale University Press safely on both sides of the question.

The other, "Fight for the Falklands," is a blatantly British-biased, jingoistic, badly written propaganda tract obviously based on press clippings and statements from Her Majesty's Government. It should be an embarrassment to St. Martin's Press, which describes author John Laffin as a "noted British military historian" with "an insider's knowledge of the Thatcher government," both of which contradicted by this thin volume. But a third book, "War in the Falklands," does fill in many of the gaps in our knowledge. It provides significant new details and insight about the military action, gleaned from painstaking debriefings of British officers, including many interviewed during their slow return to Britain by sea from the Falklands, and the most complete accounts yet from Argentine officials. In particular, The Sunday Times team documents how close the venture in the frigid South Atlantic came to being a disaster for Britain, even before Argentine boats failed to cause crippling casualties only because many of them exploded. British combat proportions were hampered by rivaling among military planners, and attempts to land commando behind enemy lines were plagued by accidents and equipment failures rivaling the disastrous U.S. attempt to rescue the hostages in the American embassy in Iran.

Helicopter crashes scuttled attempts by Special Air Service commandos to land onto a plain on frozen South Georgia Island and engine trouble stalled sea approaches by the Special Forces Squadron of the Royal Marines. Only dramatic rescues prevented large losses of life in these ventures, one of which were ported back home where it was summed that British commandos were secretly swarming over South Georgia and the Falklands.

South Georgia was finally taken in a hasty unplanned gambit outnumbered British forces at Royal Navy combat helicopter covered and disabled an Argentine submarine resupplying the garrison on the island. It was the first of many battles that ended with victorious British outnumbered they had been. The war was largely decided by Argentine conscripts' lack of spirit after outposts manned tougher troops were overrun by British.

The book's detailed reconstruction of diplomatic efforts to war also shed new light on close various mediators can successfully negotiating a ment between the British Argentine governments, only thwarted by the resistance of liners inside Argentina's junta and Britain's sinking Argentine cruiser, General Belgrano. While confirming that Minister Margaret Thatcher's cabinet authorized the attack the cruiser even though it was the British-designated zone at the time, the book is unable to decide whether it was the breakdown of negotiations for a settlement required comfortable compromise Thatcher was anything more coincidental.

Written before the British government completed an exhaustive inquiry into the war and its cost, the book offers no new conclusions about this or other major and miscalculations made by the British and Argentine. But, besides being a readable paced narrative of the war, a better job than might be expected soon after the event in providing basic information needed to understand the important revelations the inevitably follows.

Leonard Downie Jr., who was Washington Post's London correspondent during the Falklands war, is now national editor of The

# BRIDGE

By Alan Truscott

THE modern fashion for insisting on five cards for a major-suit opening tends to be carried too far: Players forget that the restriction does not apply when partner has already passed. In particular, a player in third position with minimum values should prefer a strong four-card major to a weak four-card minor since the fourth player is likely to be strong and the lead will be an important factor.

This was applicable on the diagramed deal, although the impact was not the most obvious one. East should have opened one spade, but carried the five-card rule to excess by bidding one diamond. South leaped to three no-trump, a bid that normally shows a long, solid minor suit with some outside stoppers. East probably thought that South held clubs, but revised his thinking when his partner led the club king.

South felt slightly unwell when faced with a club lead, but perked up when dummy produced the ace. He won with that card and knew what to do in diamonds. East would not have had a suit of three small cards in third position so he finessed the ten with confidence. He now ran diamonds, with more sure tricks in view and a possible 10th.

East was forced down club, two top hearts and the red spade king. It was now South to lead the heart that he could not be prevented making a 10th trick. The bid had made it clear it held the spade king.

If East had opened on South would not have had to the diamond distribut West had chosen the spade lead, rather than a spade, claver would have had in tent with nine tricks, failing the significant maneuver.

NORTH  
♠ 842  
♥ 710  
♦ 82  
♣ A7854

WEST (D)  
♠ 9742  
♥ 742  
♦ 8  
♣ KQ1073

SOUTH  
♠ AQ  
♥ Q53  
♦ AKQ10885  
♣ 6

Neither side was vulnerable.  
Bidding:  
West North East  
Pass Pass 10  
Pass Pass Pass  
West led the club king.



## SPORTS

## On a Freeway Named Desire

By George Vecsey

New York Times Service

LOS ANGELES — Back in drama class, one professor used to say the best theater came when somebody was trying to do something and somebody else was trying to stop it. It sounds simple, but that's exactly what Sunday's Super Bowl needs — a little drama.

We need King Lear, we need Hedda Gabler, we need somebody trying to impose a game plan on the universe. We need Blanche DuBois at running back, trying to move in, we need Stanley Kowalski at line-backer, trying to stop her.

Otherwise, all we have is just another football game, just another Super Bowl, at the end of a week of practices and news conferences sprawled all over an area the size of the Benelux nations. We need a hero.

This is Super Bowl XVII, and so far we have had only one larger-than-life hero: Joe Namath, way back in Super Bowl III. Namath guaranteed the survival of the game and achieved parity for the American Football League by smothering all over Dade County about how his Jets were going to beat Baltimore.

Joe Willie Namath, a name and a persona right out of Tennessee Williams, went into a bar and "garanteed" a Jet victory to a crusty old Baltimore player named Lou Michaels.

The Greek dramatists would have loved it — hubris personified. But instead of being twisted by the fates in the final scene, as happened to so many proud Greek demigods, Namath tweaked the Colts.

Players have grown more reticent about making the rounds and spouting inflammatory predictions. After Namath came the deluge of good performances and a few surprising stars, but no larger-than-life figure around whom the game revolved.

Think about it. Franco Harris of Pittsburgh gained 158 yards in 34 carries in 1975. Terry Bradshaw of Pittsburgh threw for 318 yards and four touchdowns in the 1976 game. Lynn Swann of Pittsburgh accounted for 161 yards on four receptions in 1976. Dan Ross of Cincinnati caught 11 passes last year. Rod Martin of Oakland intercepted three passes in the 1981 game.

But they seemed like excellent players who performed within the framework of their teams at the appointed hour, like astronauts who soar into space after many hours of ground effort.

And individual efforts have been further muted by the swarm of print and electronic media. If a player scores two touchdowns in the Super Bowl — as only nine players have done in the first XVI years — it may be impossible for a microphone bearer to dive over the top of the heap to record the precious words. But there is always a lineman on the other side of the

room who recovered a key fumble who is willing to say, "We knew we had 'em, it was a team effort, we had desire on our side," and all that other good football stuff.

This year, even with heavy rains greeting the arrivals of XVII by unleashing on Los Angeles. The city is too giddy to worry about criticism this week after a week of a newspaper devoted to style and fashion, decreed that Los Angeles was "in." No explanation. Just "in." And there's no sense in unleashing on Pasadena, because nobody will see it until game time Sunday.

So maybe the focus will go back to the game, will produce a Blanche-and-Stanley relationship that would bring some much-needed drama. Having attended a few drama classes at Hofstra College with Francis Ford Coppola, the Oscar-winning producer, and Joel Osteen, the Emmy Award-winning writer, and Laine Kazan, the entertainer, this old C-plus student is going to propose a plot:

There is this back named John Riggins, who plays for Washington. He isn't fast or very lovely to watch. Somebody gives him the ball, and he lowers his head and runs straight ahead. If anybody gets in the way, he hits him with a knee or a shoulder.

Riggins is often accompanied by seven of the burliest, homeliest legs this side of professional wrestling. They call themselves the Hogs because they eat a lot and grunt a lot. They are not the kind of people a television network would invite into its neighborhood.

But all their wallowing in the mud keeps the clock running, and John Riggins has just snorted and rooted his way to 444 yards in three playoff games. Unless somebody stops him Sunday, Washington is going to win the Super Bowl.

The Miami Dolphins earned their right to be named on in California by being named in Miami. In that primeval ooze, a linebacker named A.J. Duhe rose from international obscurity by intercepting three passes. He played either six positions (according to him) or four positions (according to his defensive coach, Bill Arnberger), and he totally dominated the Jets last Sunday.

Duhe's performance was exactly the kind of one-man defensive show the Super Bowl could use, even from a player previously known only to his mom, his wife and his defensive teammates.

What we need from the fates is an intense personal duel between John Riggins and A.J. Duhe, two figures coming into this Super Bowl with demigod possibilities.

Question: Is it possible to have elements of Greek drama in a game that uses Roman numerals?

## Bonus Clauses: Free Agents Striking It Richer

By Murray Chass

New York Times Service

NEW YORK — Modern baseball economics at times has produced new methods of measuring a player's value. Even a child with a calculator could figure out, for instance, that in 1981 Rennie Stennett's \$600,000 salary meant he earned \$6,896.55 for each time at bat, because he batted only 87 times that year. That, of course, is a figurative mathematical measurement.

In each of the next five seasons, Omar Moreno will provide statisticians with a literal mathematical measurement. The Houston Astros will pay Moreno \$600,000 a year in salary for playing center

field, but he will earn an additional \$214,29 each time he steps to the plate.

Moreno, who signed with the Astros as a free agent last month, is one of many players whose contracts carry bonus provisions. Some of the bonuses, such as those for games or innings pitched, are relatively easy to earn because the levels stipulated in the contracts are easily attainable. Other bonuses, such as those for winning the league's most valuable player or Cy Young awards, are not so easy.

In Moreno's case, though, his contract contains a clause that could pay him a maximum of \$150,000 in addition to his

\$600,000 salary. The formula the Astros will use in determining how much of that \$150,000 he will receive is based on 700 plate appearances.

If he bats at least 700 times (last season he totaled 706 plate appearances), he will get the entire \$150,000. If he has fewer than 700 at-bats, he will receive the total of the number of appearances multiplied by \$214.29. In other words, if in the season-opener Moreno bats five times, he will already have earned at least an additional \$1,071.45.

Details of Moreno's pact and other free-agent contracts were learned from various sources with access to the information that baseball clubs do not make public.

Those details show that since the Nov. 10 draft, 12 free agents have signed contracts worth a guaranteed \$1 million or more. Steve Garvey's five-year, \$6.6 million contract with the San Diego Padres is the most lucrative of the dazzling dozen, but the Yankees have committed themselves in the most money, signing three players for a guaranteed total of \$11,775,000.

Steve Kemp signed for the most Yankee money, \$5.45 million for five years, but Bob Shirley's contract — \$2.05 million for three years — is easily the most surprising of the three deals because he has a career pitching record of 53 victories and 74 defeats. Don Baylor signed for \$3,775 million for four years.

The Astros also re-signed Alan Ashby, the catcher who had become a free agent. They are the only team besides the Yankees who signed more than one free agent to contracts worth more than \$1 million.

All but two of those 12 free-agent contracts — those belonging to Terry Forster of Atlanta and Rick Manning of Cleveland — have bonus provisions, but none of the bonuses is as easily attainable as Moreno's for plate appearances.

Four players, Garvey, Kemp, Baylor and Floyd Bannister, can earn bonuses ranging from \$50,000 to \$150,000 for winning individual awards in their leagues or if their team wins the league championship series or the World Series.

The Yankees have those provisions with both Kemp and Baylor, so they know they would have to pay off on only one if either were to win the American League MVP award. But each player also has a provision for a \$50,000 bonus if he finishes second through fifth in the voting.

Bannister is the only player of the group who could earn bonuses for being the American

League's most valuable player and its Cy Young award winner.

Rollie Fingers achieved that feat in 1981, and if Bannister were to duplicate it, he would take home an extra \$250,000. Even if he didn't win either award, though, the pitcher could earn extra money because the provisions would pay off if he were to finish in the top six in the Cy Young voting and the top 10 in the MVP balloting.

Furthermore, Bannister is one of three recent free agents who have attendance clauses. The Chicago White Sox will pay Bannister \$5,000 for each block of 50,000 in attendance past 1.6 million. Garvey's bonus begins if the Padres reach 1.9 million in attendance. The first baseman will receive \$50,000 then receive an additional \$50,000 at each of three other levels, up to 2.25 million, for a possible total of \$200,000.

The third player, Al Cowens, re-signed by the Mariners, will receive \$5,000 if Seattle attendance reaches 1.4 million in 1984, and \$5,000 if it reaches 1.5 million in 1985.

The White Sox record attendance was 1,657,135 in 1977; the Padres drew a club high of 1,670,107 in 1978, and the Mariners had a record 1,338,511 in 1977.

Garvey, a successful and popular player in southern California, figures to have more of an impact on the San Diego attendance than Bannister will on Chicago's.

Ballard Smith, the Padres president, said the team had sold 1,200 new season-ticket plans in the first few weeks after Garvey was signed. "In the week after we signed Steve, which was Christmas week and a tough time to sell tickets, we sold 100 season tickets a day," Smith said.

A year ago the California Angels gave Reggie Jackson an attendance clause — 50 cents for each paid home admission over 2.4 million — and he wound up with an additional \$203,680 because the Angels drew an American League record 2,807,360.

Besides his various bonus possibilities, Bannister has perhaps the most unusual provisions in his contract, which is guaranteed for five years. If in the fifth year, he pitches 210 innings or makes 31 starts or appears in 48 games, the contract automatically is extended to a sixth year. The same provision applies for two additional years after that. His salary in each of those three years would be \$1.2 million or \$1 million plus the bonuses he earned in the previous season if that figure would total more than \$1.2 million.

If Bannister were to play for the maximum eight years provided

Under the rules, the arbitrator must decide on either the player's figure or the club's offer. That means Valenzuela's salary will be the maximum of \$700,000 in 1980 to pitcher Bruce Sutler, then of the Chicago Cubs, now plays for the St. Louis Cardinals.

A total of 84 players filed for arbitration before Tuesday's deadline. One of the last to file was Oakland outfielder Rickey Henderson, who won a \$535,000 arbitrated contract in 1982. This time Henderson has even more ammunition, having stolen a record 130 bases last season.

Among others filing: outfielder-third baseman Pedro Guerrero, catcher Mike Scioscia and pitchers Steve Howe, Dave Stewart and Joe Beckwith with the Dodgers; third baseman Tim Lincecum and pitchers Bill Glickson and Jeff Reardon of Montreal; third baseman Luis Salazar and pitchers Tom Lollar and Gary Lucas of San Diego; pitcher Bob Ojeda of Oakland; and outfielder Jeff Leonard and pitchers Fred Breining, Jim Barr and Renie Martin of San Francisco.

## Some Million-Dollar Men

Following are highlights of free agent contracts signed by major league players.

**Steve Garvey, San Diego, 5 years, \$6.6 million**  
Salaries of \$1.65 million; \$1.25 million; \$2.00 million; \$1.45 million; \$1.45 million. Bonuses each year ranging from \$50,000 to \$150,000, and a possible \$200,000 in attendance bonuses.

**Steve Kemp, Yankees, 5 years, \$5.45 million**  
\$500,000 signing bonus, salaries of \$550,000; \$650,000; \$950,000; \$1 million; \$1.1 million. Payments of \$200,000 each in 1983, 1984, 1985, 1986, and 1987. A \$500,000 bonus if he finishes in the top six in the Cy Young voting and the top 10 in the MVP voting. A \$50,000 bonus if he finishes in the top six in the Cy Young voting and the top 10 in the MVP voting. A \$50,000 bonus if he finishes in the top six in the Cy Young voting and the top 10 in the MVP voting.

**Floyd Bannister, White Sox, 5 years, \$4.79 million**  
\$1.25 million signing bonus, \$750,000 of which is deferred with 14 percent interest, salaries of \$225,000; \$250,000; \$250,000; \$250,000; \$250,000 plus \$50,000 deferred each year with 14 percent interest. If he finishes in the top six in the Cy Young voting and the top 10 in the MVP voting, \$50,000 bonus. If he finishes in the top six in the Cy Young voting and the top 10 in the MVP voting, \$50,000 bonus. If he finishes in the top six in the Cy Young voting and the top 10 in the MVP voting, \$50,000 bonus.

**Don Baylor, Yankees, 4 years, \$3,775 million**  
16 years, \$4,175,000; \$4,000,000 signing bonus, \$750,000 salary each of four years with \$350,000 of salary deferred without interest in each but second year, option for fifth year with \$875,000 salary, including \$350,000 deferred without interest. \$375,000 buyout if he is not on roster, bonuses each year of \$100,000 if he finishes in the top six in the Cy Young voting and the top 10 in the MVP voting. \$50,000 bonus if he finishes in the top six in the Cy Young voting and the top 10 in the MVP voting. \$50,000 bonus if he finishes in the top six in the Cy Young voting and the top 10 in the MVP voting.

**Omar Moreno, Houston, 5 years, \$3.5 million**  
\$250,000 signing bonus, \$600,000 salary each year, \$250,000 deferred payment if he is offered less than \$400,000 for 1988 bonus each year for plate appearances to a maximum of \$150,000, based on a formula of \$214.29 per plate appearance up to 700 a season, bonuses each year of \$50,000 if he finishes in the top six in the Cy Young voting and the top 10 in the MVP voting. \$50,000 bonus if he finishes in the top six in the Cy Young voting and the top 10 in the MVP voting. \$50,000 bonus if he finishes in the top six in the Cy Young voting and the top 10 in the MVP voting.

## IAAF Derails Nehemiah's Return

The Associated Press

NEW YORK — Renato Nehemiah, world-record hurdler turned wide receiver for the San Francisco 49ers, had his plans to return to track derailed Tuesday when international track officials confirmed a ruling that threatens the amateur status of anyone running against him.

The immediate effect was to knock Nehemiah out of Friday's Millrose Games and the rest of the indoor track season. "Steele has begged the indoor season," said his agent, Ron Stanko.

The long-term effect may be a prolonged fight over Nehemiah's status. Currently, the definition of an amateur.

Stanko said he planned to go to court, with the backing of the U.S. Olympic Committee, to get Nehemiah reinstated.

Nehemiah had been reinstated last week as a track amateur by both the USOC and The Athletic Congress, the country's track and field federation.

Both said he was eligible for domestic meets. He planned to re-

sume his hurdling career at the Millrose Games.

But last Friday, Primo Nehiolo, president of the International Amateur Athletic Federation, ruled that foreign athletes attending U.S. colleges or competing for U.S. clubs would come under foreign rules and that any meets they entered would be considered international.

A mail vote of the 19-member IAAF Council, released Tuesday, confirmed that ruling.

The ruling revokes a 1977 rule under which resident foreign runners have been under TAC jurisdiction; before Tuesday's ruling, meets they entered could have remained domestic meets and Nehemiah could have competed.

The IAAF ruling was affirmed by TAC officials and relayed to Millrose officials, who said they would abide by it.

"If Nehemiah were to compete in the Millrose games," said meet director, Herbert Schmetz, "the amateur status of all athletes competing in the meet, America and foreign, would be placed in jeopardy and they would be subject to disqualification from all international competitions."

One question raised by the IAAF ruling is the status of athletes who compete in U.S. college meets against Americans who are professionals in another sport.

The National Collegiate Athletic Association permits an athlete to compete professionally in one sport while retaining college eligibility in another. An example is John Elway, the Stanford quarterback who played last summer in the New York Yankee farm system.

## Knox Resigns Coaching Post With NFL Bills

The Associated Press

BUFFALO, N.Y. — Chuck Knox, one of the most successful National Football League coaches during the last 10 years, resigned late Tuesday as coach of the Buffalo Bills.

With one year left on his six-year contract, Knox said he was "offered an extension, but I decided that I should resign and be relieved of any contractual obligations."

Reported differences between Knox and owner Ralph Wilson stemmed from the team's refusal to sign or keep satisfied such top players as linebacker Tom Cousineau, running back Joe Cribbs and nose tackle Fred Smerlas.

Knox's five-year record with Buffalo was 36-57. The Bills were 5-23 the two seasons before he took over in 1978, and by his third year they won the American Football Conference East title. Except for the 4-5 1982 season, they had been competitive ever since.

Knox joined Buffalo after leading the Los Angeles Rams to five straight divisional titles. His overall NFL coaching record is 95-58-1.



Chuck Knox

## NBA Standings

EASTERN CONFERENCE				WESTERN CONFERENCE			
Atlantic Division				Pacific Division			
Philadelphia	25	16	254	San Antonio	27	18	280
Boston	21	20	228	Kansas City	25	18	261
New York	19	22	228	Dallas	21	24	247
Washington	18	23	229	Dallas	19	26	243
New York	18	23	229	Utah	18	27	249
Control Division				Midwest Division			
Atlanta	20	21	282	San Antonio	27	18	280
Atlanta	21	20	283	Kansas City	25	18	261
Chicago	14	28	232	Dallas	21	24	247
Indiana	12	30	219	Dallas	19	26	243
Cleveland	7	35	171	Utah	18	27	249
Tuesdays Results				Pacific Division			
New York 113, Cleveland 76 (Westbrook)				San Antonio	27	18	280
Washington 114, Charlotte 115 (Finn)				Kansas City	25	18	261
Atlanta 94, Phoenix 84 (Rothman)				Dallas	21	24	247
Philadelphia 114, Chicago 99 (Laurie)				Dallas	19	26	243
Orlando 124, Indiana 124 (Laurie)				Utah	18	27	249
San Antonio 114, Utah 105 (Toney)				Midwest Division			
San Antonio 114, Utah 105 (Toney)				San Antonio	27	18	280
San Antonio 114, Utah 105 (Toney)				Kansas City	25	18	261
San Antonio 114, Utah 105 (Toney)				Dallas	21	24	247
San Antonio 114, Utah 105 (Toney)				Dallas	19	26	243
San Antonio 114, Utah 105 (Toney)				Utah	18	27	249
San Antonio 114, Utah 105 (Toney)				Midwest Division			
San Antonio 114, Utah 105 (Toney)				San Antonio	27	18	280
San Antonio 114, Utah 105 (Toney)				Kansas City	25	18	261
San Antonio 114, Utah 105 (Toney)				Dallas	21	24	247
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San Antonio 114, Utah 105 (Toney)				Utah	18	27	249
San Antonio 114, Utah 105 (Toney)				Midwest Division			
San Antonio 114, Utah 105 (Toney)				San Antonio	27		



